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RAMIZ ALIA REPORT TO NINTH AWP CONGRESS

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[Report delivered by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, on 3 November 1986 in Tirana at the Ninth AWP Congress: "On the Activity of the AWP Central Committee and Future Tasks"]

[Text] Dear Comrade delegates, we have come to this congress to draw up a balance-sheet of our party's struggle and work during the past 5 years and to set out the objectives to be attained in the coming years. We have come with pride and successes because the tasks set out by the eighth congress, the line worked out by our great Comrade Enver Hoxha have been successfully fulfilled. Our beloved homeland has raised itself to a higher level in the complete construction of the socialist society, the life of the people has become more prosperous, and our country has progressed and has become stronger.

In a few days we will be celebrating the 45th anniversary of the party's founding. The Albanian Communists have a right to be proud; they have a right to rejoice and be happy on this anniversary. Our party has led the Albanian people in their most glorious historic period, in the most heroic battles, and in the most decisive revolutionary overthrows and transformations of all times. The party has honorably and gloriously fulfilled its mission of leading its own people in their complete national and social liberation and in the construction of socialism. But the more the victories grow, all the more do the responsibilities also grow, the responsibilities of defending and of developing the victories, of leading the people toward new and more advanced frontiers.

The party is coming to this congress with united ranks; it is ideologically tempered and politically more mature. It is coming to this congress enriched with numerous new experiences, with great organizing and mobilizing capabilities. The struggles that we have waged and the victories we have achieved have further strengthened the party's links with the masses and have further steeled the unity of the people. The patriotism of our people has been raised to new heights, and so has their revolutionary spirit.

Uncovering and defeating the conspiracy of the multi-agent Mehmet Shehu and his criminal band was a great victory for our party and people. The danger that they represented against the freedom and independence of the country and the future of socialism in Albania can only be imagined; they cannot be fully calculated. The party has deeply analyzed this hostile activity and the facts are well-known. We can say that the consequences of that hostile activity in the party, in the economy, in the state organs, in the Army, and in the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been successfully liquidated. Salvation from this great danger has further increased the revolutionary vigilance and militant spirit of the party and of the people, has made them more determined and more vigilant in the struggle against the internal and external enemies, has given them new strength, has made them more optimistic, and has further raised their confidence in the future.

The victories attained during the 5 years that separate us from the eighth congress constitute a new confirmation of the correctness of the party's line, the superiority of our socialist system, the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. They are a new confirmation that the road of socialism, along which the party of the Communists has been leading Albania for nearly half a century, is the only road which secures Albania's freedom and genuine national independence, which gives its people a truly dignified life, which guarantees the socialist achievements and the conditions making it possible to stand always proud among the advanced and emancipated nations.

The freedom and independence of the country, our socialist life, the prestige and respect enjoyed by Albania throughout the world are dedicated by our people to our heroic party, to their glorious son, and unforgettable Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Enver is no longer among us, but what remains among us are his immortal deeds, his teachings and wise instructions; what remains among us is his pure theoretical legacy, which inspire and guide us at every step and every moment.

Our gratitude, the gratitude of the Communists and of all the people for what Enver Hoxha has done for Albania and its people has always been and will always remain boundless. Our respect is directed to that great man who, at the most tragic moments in Albania's history, founded the Communist Party, which organized and led the great antifascist uprising of the Albanian people; our respect is directed to the legendary commander of the National Liberation Army, which drove out the foreign occupiers and overthrew the internal traitors. Our thoughts go and will always go to the man who, at the head of the party, laid the foundations of the people's power and guided the great social transformations and profound processes of socialist construction in Albania.

The name of Albania and the name of Enver Hoxha are indivisible. Albania's new history bears the stamp of his distinguished personality, his theoretical thinking, and his political activity. When our people say that they are loyal to Enver, they express the great fact that their character and traits, their way of thinking and acting, their ideals and aims have been formed in the school of his revolutionary struggle. The personality of Enver Hoxha is the personality that symbolizes and embodies ardent patriotism and devoted revolutionary militancy, popular wisdom, and the brilliant mind of a cultured man, a modest son of the people, and a distinguished statesman.

Enver Hoxha's struggle and teachings lie at the foundations of the party's general line. They represent the cardinal points of orientation and a reference for its daily activity. Loyalty to these teachings and their consistent implementation are a guarantee for the present and the future; they are a decisive prerequisite for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism in Albania.

Comrade Hoxha taught us to constantly protect and strengthen the party and its leadership role. On this question he adhered strictly to the principle that only a party of the Leninist type, a party that remains loyal to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and to the internationalist spirit, only a party that remains at the head of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a party that does not share its leadership in the state and in society with other political forces, only a party that is irreconcilable against factions and currents, a party that is in constant opposition to the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, only such a party can defend the victories of the revolution and can lead the people on the road of socialism. He created such a monolithic party and led it for nearly 45 years. With such a hegemonic party, our people secured all those victories that we are enjoying today.

The AWP will always remain loyal to its road and deeds, always revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist, ideologically pure, organizationally strong, and capable of meeting all difficulties and making all sacrifices for the people and socialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha viewed the destiny of the Albanian people, their future, as being closely linked with the existence of the people's regime, with its constant development and democratization, with the consolidation of the bonds with the masses. He never considered the people's power to be a mere instrument of the party for the implementation of its policy, but also as the achiever of the aspirations of the popular masses for equality and social justice, as a protector of democratic and civil rights, as a representative of national interests, and as a decisive political and organizational factor in the march toward socialism.

We will always protect the people's power, for whose establishment the people have shed so much blood, keeping it strong and pure, defending it against all bureaucratic distortions and liberalistic influences. We will work constantly for its development on those sound popular and democratic bases established by the National Liberation Struggle and consolidate and perfected by that other great struggle, the struggle for the construction of socialism. The party and the people will never permit the people's power to become influenced by bourgeois-revisionist ideas and practices, so-called pluralistic self-management of the state of all the people, and so forth.

Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted Albania to be -- and made it -- completely free and independent, completely sovereign. His entire thinking, his entire activity, and his entire struggle against Anglo-American, Yugoslav, Soviet, and other interferences reflect that great concept that the total independence of a country is preserved when that country has no obligation whatsoever toward other countries, obligations conditioning its internal and external policies; when political independence is accompanied by an independent economy and defense; when the people are sovereign over their natural wealth; and when they alone determine their destiny.

Enver Hoxha was the one who formulated and implemented the party's policy of self-reliance. Only such a policy could completely secure for Albania its freedom, its national sovereignty, its independent political, economic, and cultural development, only such a policy could defend Albania against foreign pressure and diktat.

Our party and people will always march along this broad avenue of freedom and independence. No one should think or hope that Albania may one day bargain away its freedom and independence, that it may accept foreign tutelage, that it may permit its sovereignty to be affected, no matter how slightly, that it may be cajoled or deceived into the nets of blocs or various forms of integration within the capitalist and revisionist world.

The entire history of the new Albania is the history of a bitter class struggle waged on all fronts against the internal and external enemies. It is to Enver Hoxha's credit that this struggle has always been waged correctly, leaning neither to the left nor to the right, that it has resisted imperialist pressure and was never influenced by revisionist views and practices. Not only did Enver Hoxha defined this struggle as a major driving force in the socialist society, he brilliantly argued its existence throughout the entire period of socialism, up to communism. He considered the class struggle to be a decisive factor in preserving the unity of the people and of the party's ranks as a sound base to defend the victories of the revolution and a fundamental prerequisite in building socialism. It was Comrade Enver Hoxha's lofty class vigilance, his political acumen, and his revolutionary boldness that helped the party and the people in coping with the resistance of the overthrown classes and eliminating the bands sent from abroad, in unmasking opportunists of the Sejfulla Maleshova type, in uncovering conspirators of the type of Koci Xoxe and Mehmet Shehu, in defeating the interference of imperialists and the intrigues of the revisionists. The Communists and all our people will be eternally grateful to Comrade Enver, who cleaned up the party and the country of these enemies who could have caused the greatest havoc to our country.

Our party will never depart from the class struggle and will always wage it in a principled way and resolutely. The people's power, the Communists, and all the masses will never make concessions to the enemies, whoever they may be. They will put in their place whoever makes any attempt against our freedom and independence, our socialist system, our communist ideals.

Our people dreamed of seeing our country industrialized, of having enough bread from their own soil, of receiving education and culture, of enjoying the fruits of contemporary civilization. The party led by Enver Hoxha transformed this dream into reality. The idea and ways of the country's industrialization and of the socialist transformation of the countryside, which Enver Hoxha worked out in great depth and detail, were as original as they were salvational. The idea of setting up industry on the basis of the country's natural wealth is his idea, and the same is true of the idea of creating an independent energy base as a decisive factor in the development and progress of industry, agriculture, and all other branches; the idea of training qualified technical cadres capable of utilizing and managing industry. To him belongs the credit for compiling the great program of achieving the population's self-sufficiency in grains, of compiling all those fundamental lines along which our socialist economy has progressed.

The great strategy of the development of our socialist economy, the magnificent program of socialist construction drafted under the guidance of and in accordance with Comrade Enver Hoxha's thinking will be resolutely and creatively implemented by our party, adhering to the Marxist-Leninist principles that lie at their foundation. The party and the people will work tirelessly to transform our country as rapidly as is possible into an industrialized country with agriculture on a high international level, to create increasingly better conditions for scientific and technical progress and for an ever broader and progressive culture of the masses. In his greetings message to the Albanian people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation, Comrade Enver expressed his firm belief in the future of socialist Albania, which he wanted to see

"...always stronger, always red like the unextinguishable fire of communist and partisan hearts and ideals, an Albania that will live and progress throughout the centuries."

We will adhere to this political testament, marching on his road and implementing his teachings, keeping Albania forever free and independent, as Comrade Enver left it to us and as he wanted it to be -- with a strong defense, as was built and consolidated by him; with a sound and advanced economy, with a strong people's power, as he wanted it; with a politically tempered and organizationally able party, as was founded and educated by him.

The proceedings and decisions of our congress will be another proof of loyalty to Enver Hoxha's teachings and of determination to march on his road, on the glorious road of our revolution. They will be a reflection of the firm will of the party and the people to work and fight with renewed energies and creative spirit in order to always further the socialist victories, to further raise the glory of our free and sovereign country.

I. [Roman one] The Party's Policy for the Development of the Economy in the Eighth 5-Year Plan [subhead]

The years of the seventh 5-year period were characterized by the persistent and selfless efforts of the party and of the people to promote the construction of socialism in Albania. The fundamental political, economic, and social objectives stipulated by the Eighth AWP Congress were generally attained. Industry was extended, it developed further, and its weight and role throughout the country's economy was further raised. The process of the intensification of agricultural production was further promoted and the cooperativists system was consolidated. The strength of the economy was increased and its independence and stability in the face of all situations was consolidated. Extended socialist reproduction was secured through our own forces, the well-being of the population was maintained and raised, and the country's defense was further strengthened.

Our country is entering the new 5-year period with a stronger material and technical base, with greater production and accumulation capabilities, and with an improved economic structure. National assets have increased and their efficient utilization has been raised. Over the 5 years taken together, compared with the sixth 5-year period, social production increased by approximately 19 percent, financial revenues over 17 percent, and the export of commodities about 29 percent.

Industry successfully preceded the comprehensive development of productive forces. Overall industrial production was 27 percent higher than during the sixth 5-year period. The branches of heavy industry made considerable strides forward, bearing the main burden of material production. The production of gas, coal, and electricity experienced a high rate of growth, from 38 to 48 percent. The production of ferro-nickel was doubled, and so was the production of copper wire and cable. The production of steels increased approximately 45 percent, and the same applies to the production of sulphuric acid, some construction materials, and so forth. The engineering industry successfully fulfilled its tasks concerning the maintenance of machinery in all branches of the economy and made major strides in the production of machinery and equipment, increasing its volume by 54 percent.

The light and food industry has attained successes in the rational and thrifty utilization of raw materials, in extending the varieties of its products, and in increasing production at a rate higher than the population growth rate.

Despite the adverse weather conditions which continued for 3 successive years, agriculture also advanced and fulfilled its basic tasks during the seventh 5-year period. Overall agricultural production for the 5 years taken together increased over 13 percent. The increase was even greater with regard to some important products like wheat, vegetables, industrial crops, and the production of eggs. Stability and increased yields is a general trend. This is to be observed particularly in the case of wheat, cotton, sunflower, and tobacco, in which very high yields have been obtained over large acreages.

The program of the Eighth Congress with regard to capital investments, which increased about 17 percent, was broadly implemented. During the past 5-year period over 300 major production and sociocultural projects were built. The first and second turbines of the Enver Hoxha Hydroelectric Plant at Komand were completed ahead of schedule and hundreds of kilometers of high-voltage lines were built. With the completion of the Lac-Shkoder-Han i Hoti railroad and the Fier-Vlore railroads and some branch lines, 140 kilometers of railroads were added to the network. The ferrous metallurgy sector was further extended with the commissioning of the No. 12 plant, the second blast furnace, the continuous steel-pouring line, and the plant for the production of refractory materials.

Productive forces in industry and agriculture were reinforced through the extension of some mines, increased production capacities, the reconstruction of some 30 plants and factories in the heavy and light industries, as well as through the construction of dozens of livestock complexes and increased irrigation capacities covering an additional 28,000 hectares.

New sociocultural institutions were built, like the National History Museum, the "George Castrioti" Museum in Kruje, the Palace of Congresses, and numerous sports and cultural halls, stadia, schools, and hospitals.

The party and state organs have shown special care with regard to the attainment of planned objectives in the social field. The creation of new jobs matched the increased manpower available. Housing stocks increased at a considerable pace and more rapidly than the population growth rate. The construction and commissioning of new schools

corresponded with the increase in the number of students and pupils at all levels of the education system.

The state of health of the population was improved. Infant mortality of children under the age of 1 year was halved, while the general number of deaths per 1,000 inhabitants is declining. For some years now, this index has been the lowest in Europe. Legislation and state assistance for mothers and children were improved, and social security has generally become a stronger factor in helping maintain the standards of all the working people.

The consumption fund continued to increase at a higher rate than the population growth rate and real incomes continued to rise both in the cities and in the countryside. The rise in the international market and unexpected weather conditions did not affect the living standards of the working people because the losses were subsidized by the state.

The progress made during the seventh 5-year period, with no aid or credits from abroad and under conditions of the all-round economic crisis of the capitalist-revisionist world and its effects on our country, constitute victories of particular importance. Our experience concerning a dynamic and independent socioeconomic development was further enriched.

In these years of great battles we learned to appreciate more than ever the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the party and Cormade Enver Hoxha in building a complex economic structure, in creating essential reserves, in creating a large irrigation network, in the increasingly fuller activation of the use of natural assets, in the training of cadres, and in creating our new and militant man who is not afraid of work and sacrifices.

The vitality of the principle of self-reliance was displayed in all its might during the past 5-year period. The working masses became more aware of the consistent implementation of the party's great orientations that we should consume only as much as we produce, that we should spend only as much as we earn, and that we should import only as much as we export, also constantly increasing the reserves. Our people, educated by the party, coped successfully in all their tasks. Large projects in industry, construction, communications, agriculture, and so forth were completed through our own efforts. New machinery and equipment was designed and innovations and rationalizations of considerable value were effected. Work was carried out everywhere in a creative spirit and with the confidence that we can now resolve even difficult technical and scientific problems by ourselves. This firm principle of the party inspired the Communists and the broad working masses to discover new forces, possibilities, and reserves to ensure the country's dynamic socioeconomic development and to consolidate the country's political and economic independence.

The attainments of the 5-year period would have been greater were it not for weaknesses and shortcomings in organization and management, were it not also for the operation of some objective internal difficulties and the negative influences of the economic crises of the outside world. In those years we had to deal with the consequences of the hostile activity of Mehmet Shehu and company. Considerable damage was caused to the economy by the prolonged drought and abnormal precipitation, which hit the agriculture and the electricity generating sector particularly hard. Price vacillations on international markets and the lack of adequate knowledge concerning foreign markets and complicated international circumstances also increased the difficulties in the development of the economy.

The operation of all these negative factors resulted in the failure to completely fulfill plans in particular branches of the economy, like in the oil sector, in the production of some agricultural and livestock products, in financial revenues, and in the export field. Consequently, certain disproportions were created in the economy. There were also shortages in supplying the population in accordance with plan expectations.

In the face of the difficulties encountered, the strength and monolithic unity of the people around the party and the unprecedented mobilization of the working people in fulfilling their tasks emerged like rarely before. The workers class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, and old and young, with the communists in the lead, performed the impossible in minimizing their effects.

The party and state organs adopted comprehensive measures to ensure the continuation of economic development and to maintain the well-being of the population. They responded to the judgement of the masses, to their political awareness, their initiative, and their spirit of action with a new and more agile style of work, with more fruitful organization and management, and with a tightening of order and discipline. Their capability to maneuver in accordance with the situation, to coordinate efforts, and to concentrate forces and means at the more sensitive points of the economy was further increased. Together with the working masses, the party and the state and economic organs thus discovered new possibilities and reserves and, as a result, the planned tasks were fulfilled satisfactorily with fewer energy resources and raw and other materials.

This practice showed once again what results can be attained and what big problems can be resolved when the initiative and action of the masses are combined with qualified organization and management. This is a great school from which we must learn, all of us, how to confront difficulties and tasks, how to resolve problems with initiative and with our internal resources, how to utilize production capacities and the considerable reserves to be found in enterprises and cooperatives, and how to strengthen our belief in the possibilities and capabilities to be found among working collectives. These lessons must also serve us in the future to think and to work at all times with a high sense of responsibility, revolutionary courage, and a spirit of sacrifice.

The experience gained in the struggle to implement the Seventh 5-Year Plan helped the AWP Central Committee to deepen its work in acquainting itself with and determining the prospects of the development of the economy and culture. The directives of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, 1986-90, which are being presented to this congress for examination and approval, have been prepared on this basis.

These directives embody the long-term strategy of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and directions for the constant construction and development of the socialist society. They were broadly discussed by the working masses; therefore, they strongly bear the stamp of their creative thinking and enjoy their approval and energetic support.

The new 5-year period constitutes a great and courageous program of work. It aims to ensure the continuous, stable, and rapid development of the economy and culture relying entirely on our own forces; to further consolidate and perfect the multi-branched structure of the economy, always preserving the priority of industry and rapidly developing agriculture; to raise the efficiency of production and accumulation through a deeper utilization of material resources and other possibilities available to society and of existing production capacities and those that will be accrued and modernized; to ensure correct proportions in the development of expanded socialist reproduction; to further promote and perfect socialist production relations; and to

further raise the material well-being and the cultural standards of the working masses and the country's defense potential.

The development of industry at high rates of growth remains a task of primary importance. Over 10 billion leks, or 42 percent of the entire volume of investments, will be used for this purpose. The volume of overall industrial production in 1990, compared with 1985, will increase 29-31 percent on the basis of a more complete utilization of production capacities, through their extension and reconstruction, and the construction of new projects. Continuing to give priority to production of the means of production, the rate of increase of consumer goods will also be accelerated. Industry will be better placed at the service of agriculture and the fulfillment of the needs of the people and will extend the country's export potential.

The party aims to enhance the role of agriculture during the eighth 5-year period for the independent development of the country, to raise the well-being of the people, and to narrow the socioeconomic differences between rural and urban areas. About 7.7 billion leks will be invested in this branch, equal to approximately one-third of the total volume of investments. The number of people engaged in agriculture will be considerably increased and the role of science in its service will be raised. Overall agricultural production during the 5-year period will increase 35-37 percent.

The country's economic potential makes it possible for capital investments to reach the sum of 24.45 billion leks during the 5-year period; that is, 2.8 billion leks more than in the seventh 5-year period. Numerous and profound studies have been carried out concerning the distribution of investments to support the essential priorities in production and in other sectors, to include essential and the more profitable projects in the plan, to raise the technical and technological level of the major means in industry, agriculture, and elsewhere, and to ensure the continuity of the development of production forces in the future as well.

During the 5-year period, work will proceed on the construction of 420 important production and sociocultural projects, of which over 370 will be commissioned by 1990. The Banje hydroelectrical complex, the urea plant, the Milot-Rreshenklos railroad, the Bulqize viaduct, the ferrochrome plant, the steel wire plant, mines and enrichment plants, and hundreds of irrigation projects rank among the most important.

The Enver Hoxha Hydroelectric Power Plant in Koman, the nickel-cobalt plant, the lubricating oils plant, and a number of other smaller projects will be completed and commissioned during this 5-year period. Considerable investments will be effected for the extension and reconstruction of numerous projects of primary importance in the mining and metallurgical sectors and in the light industry, like in the Shkoder wire plant, the Durres chemical enterprise, the Lac superphosphates plant, the ferrochrome plant, textile combines, and 15 engineering plants and workshops. Some of them may be considered as new constructions in the fullest meaning of the word and are equipped with the most advanced technologies. Factories, production lines, roads, schools, reservoirs, livestock complexes, medical institutions, and cultural centers will be built throughout the country.

The in-depth utilization of production capacities and technical and scientific progress will enable us to raise labor productivity and production efficiency. The well-being of the population, both in the cities and in the countryside, will consequently be further improved. Over 220,000 people will enter employment for the first time. Education, culture, and the health service will experience further development. The country's increased defense potential will be at the center of the party's and the state's attention.

The magnificent objectives stipulated for the eighth 5-year period have stimulated new inspiration among the Communists and all our people. They have raised the confidence of the working people in the party's line and Comrade Enver Hoxha's immortal teachings and have reinforced their sense of security concerning the future and their courage to undertake and implement increasingly bigger tasks.

Comrade Adil Carcani will speak in detail about the objectives and tasks of the new 5-year period. Allow me, therefore, to dwell on some major aspects of the party's policy concerning our country's socioeconomic development during the coming 5 years.

1. On the Pace and Priorities of the Development of the Economy [subhead]

The draft directives stipulate that the overall social product in 1990, compared with 1985, will increase 31-33 percent, the national income 35-37 percent, and the total financial income 37-39 percent.

As is apparent from the aforementioned indicators, the average annual development rate of the economy ranges from 5-7 percent and is 2-3 times higher than the population growth rate. In setting a high pace for the development of the economy, the party proceeds not only from the needs, but also from the growing possibilities of our society to achieve it, from the human, material and technical, scientific, and organizational potential that we enjoy.

Their attainment is an essential prerequisite in raising the per capita consumption of the population and in ensuring the essential, necessary accumulation for extended socialist reproduction. Only rapid development will make it possible to fulfill these two fundamental demands of the party's economic policy and, at the same time, to even up some disproportions that have been created.

The rapid pace will enable our economy as a whole to develop harmoniously on the basis of correct proportions. The national income and the social product, production and consumption, labor productivity and real incomes, products for society and personal products, the stock of consumer commodities and the purchasing power, as well as exports and imports will progress in accordance with the essential priorities and in a balanced manner. The implementation of these laws and proportions of socialist reproduction will consolidate the stability of the economy and will increase the capabilities of society in meeting even greater and more difficult tasks in the future. The party, state, and economic organs, the Communists, and the workers should consider the stipulated production, income, and investment tasks to be minimal targets to be attained without fail. This requires the efficient utilization of production capacities and manpower, persistent efforts to raise productivity, the rational utilization of natural assets, and persistency in achieving technical and technological progress, in fruitful organization, and in effecting savings.

The fulfillment of the complex economic and social tasks of the eighth 5-year period is based on certain important structural improvements. The present structure of the economy, and particularly the structure of heavy industry, the greater possibilities for maneuvering in the distribution of investments and manpower and in the utilization of other resources permit us to complement certain branches and activities and to stipulate higher rates and development priorities for particular sectors and products. These priorities do not affect the tracks of the structure of the economy and do not obstruct the implementation of priorities of a principled nature.

Geology and mines will concentrate on the discovery and extraction of chromites, ferronickel, and rich copper. The party bases this orientation on the considerable geological and industrial reserves that have been uncovered and on the technical and technological level of nonferrous metallurgy. The overall increased efficiency of

the mineral processing industry, the increased degree of recovery [rikuperim], cost reductions in transportation and in the metallurgical sector, and the increase in export revenues will be aimed at a more favorable structure of minerals. At the same time, the working people and specialists in the nonferrous metallurgical sector are required to effect studies concerning more advanced enrichment and smelting technologies and to extend the possibilities of utilizing poorer minerals in the future at a higher degree of efficiency. The latter must be properly appreciated as a great asset to future generations.

The development of the branches of the light and food industry will also receive priority in the current 5-year period. Fifty-four percent more investments than in the seventh 5-year period have been allocated during the present 5-year period to process agricultural and livestock produce, to increase the production of industrial consumer commodities, to improve their quality, and to extend the variety and types of foodstuffs. Over 90 plants, factories, and production lines will be built or expanded in the light and food industry, of which 70 will be new ones.

Through these investments the light and food industry will be brought closer to the raw materials and to the consumers. The workers in this branch are required to process all products offered by agriculture and the livestock sector, to get as many products as is possible from the raw materials, and to increase their care for the rational utilization of all technological waste, to introduce functional and aesthetic packaging, and to make more extensive use of less costly synthetic materials.

The most noticeable increase in agricultural production will take place in the livestock sector. This sector is being especially encouraged because its proportion within overall agricultural production is still low and because there are still considerable untapped reserves. The high rate in the increase of livestock products is dictated by the need to further raise the norms of per capita consumption, to improve the diet structure in favor of livestock products, and generally to raise the viability of this bran (these tasks will be fulfilled by increasing the number of all types of livestock and through their increased productivity. About 90,000 cows and about 1.4 million head of sheep and goats are expected to be added to present stocks during the current 5-year period. One-third of the increased livestock production is expected to be achieved through increased yields. The objectives set out for the development of the livestock sector cannot be achieved unless a greater effort is made everywhere -- in the plains, the hills, the mountains; in state enterprises; in cooperatives, the modern complexes and large herds; and even down to the small herds at the brigade level -- to secure the essential fodder base, particularly by increasing the production of forage crops, whose yields are still considerably low. It must be admitted that a lag has occurred in the livestock sector in recent years, which has also affected the supply of meat and other livestock products to the population. The failure to profoundly understand and the deficiencies in the implementation of the party's directives concerning the creation of small herds of sheep and cows on the private plots of cooperativists during the earlier years of the previous 5-year period, led to considerable damage and to the slaughtering of much livestock without any criteria for this. In some cases the herding was understood in an oversimplified manner, as an action related simply to the herding together of the cattle of cooperativist members and not to increased production, which is its fundamental aim.

Certain other mistaken concepts and practices have also hindered the rapid development of the livestock sector, such as the overrating of modern livestock complexes and the large-scale concentration of cattle, which led to the removal of livestock from the villages, of production from the consumer, and of organic fertilizer from the soil. It also led to an underrating of the great reserves that could be utilized for the traditional extensive livestock raising.

The party has adopted measures to rectify these practices. It has stressed and continues to stress that, as a result of our country's natural conditions and possibilities, both roads, the intensive one and the extensive one, must be utilized for the development of agriculture, and particularly for the development of the livestock sector. Production must be raised in complexes and in the large concentrations, but also through the traditional increase in livestock.

The AWP Central Committee supported the initiative of the peasantry to keep small livestock herds at the brigade level. This important action, which is being rapidly implemented throughout the country, will lead to the further consolidation of group property, the efficient utilization of the extensive method of livestock development and, what is more important, to the increased production of livestock products, particularly for the cooperativist peasantry. The aim must be to have the cooperativist peasantry meet its own needs for milk from the production of these small herds within 2-3 years. This will also improve the supply of cities with livestock products to the cities from the larger and concentrated herds of the agricultural cooperatives.

The rapid pace in the development of the economy makes a perceptible increase in the volume of exports both possible and essential. Exports will increase 44-46 percent during the 5-year period. To ensure more solid and guaranteed exports, their bulk will be distributed over a larger group of commodities which are in demand in foreign markets. Because of the revenue they bring in, chromites and tobacco will constitute the largest proportion of exports and will occupy the first two places. The extraction of chromites in 1990, compared with 1985, will increase about 36 percent and tobacco production will almost double. The benefit of these changes is already apparent this year. Had measures not been adopted to increase the export of certain goods of considerable importance, the drastic and sudden drop in the price of energy products on foreign markets, which caused harm to the tune of U.S. $40-45 million, would have burdened us even more.

A greater degree of commitment on the part of the entire economy could make for increased exports. The workers in the mineral and energy sectors are confronted with great and responsible tasks. These sectors provide the overwhelming part of our exports. The same applies to workers in the agricultural sector and in the light and food industry. What is required of them is that they should not only fulfill their planned tasks without fail, but also that they should overfulfill them. Any failure to fulfill the production of export commodities has negative consequences. Our economy needs a number of imported commodities, which cannot be secured without first fulfilling the export tasks.

The quality of the commodities that we export constitute a big problem. It plays a decisive role in selling a commodity and in determining its proper value. It is only possible to compete in foreign markets with goods of a high quality.

The party has stressed that the foreign currency balance becomes increasingly more active through increased exports and the relative reduction of imports and also by thrift in the consumption of those commodities that can be exported and the replacement of imported commodities with domestically produced ones. This requires more creative thinking and persistence by the managers of the economy, who frequently find it easier to look to imports than to organize the implementation of this important party orientation.

Various difficulties exist in foreign trade, which may or may not stem from us. But these must be overcome not through mechanical operations, but through solutions leading to increased exports, reduction of costs, and the improvement in the quality of commodities and by reducing the importation of raw materials and machinery, which narrows development possibilities and creates problems for the progress of production and consumption.

The foreign trade organs view imports and exports in close unity; they should be more operative and flexible, strengthen coordination throughout the system, and should maintain close links with the planning, financial, and banking organs in order to stimulate production everywhere. They must distinguish themselves for correctness in dealings with their partners, earnestness in business, and their competence in trade operations.

A number of other priorities are also stipulated in the 5-year plan. With regard to the utilization of the accumulation fund, priority is to be given to the increase of funds allocated to production and to increasing reserves. The reduction of costs in construction and installation will be aimed in favor of investments for machinery and equipment. Internal maritime transportation will be encouraged to occupy the place it deserves. Employment in material production and particularly in agriculture will increase at a higher rate.

These priority developments are essential operations which must lead to effective production results, the raising of incomes, and the improvement of the living standards of the population in the current 5-year period and beyond.

2. Resources Are To Be Extended and the Efficient Utilization of the Country's Natural Assets Is To Be Raised [subhead]

The dynamic development of the economy, the stage reached in the country's industrialization, make possible the discovery and the utilization of underground assets on an increasingly wider scale. Their industrial reserves will increase by 90 million tons in the current 5-year period, while more than 45 million tons of minerals and fuels of various kinds will be extracted and processed compared with about 34 million tons exploited during the previous 5-year period. Currently, the unrenewable natural assets exploited have taken over first place from the renewable ones. This is an important qualitative change. Our mining and metallurgical industries are fully able to carry this burden.

The party has always considered the oil industry to be a key branch of the economy considering the major place that it occupies in the energy balance, because it is an asset lending itself to varied uses, because it is a very profitable asset even in the most unfavorable circumstances prevailing in foreign markets, and because of its decisive role in our entire present and future economic development. The party has always considered and continues to consider the oil industry as a key branch of the economy. The state and society have not spared and will not spare funds for the development of this branch. But in recent years the reinforcement of the material and technical base of this branch has not been met to the same extent by the increase in production. In addition to the sabotage activity of the enemies having been uncovered, results in the oil industry have also been checked by organizational weaknesses and in the planning of production tasks and the superficiality of some studies and of the interpretation of survey data.

The party and the people have a right to ask for more of the people working in the oil sector. Almost one-third of the investments to be effected in industry during the eighth 5-year period will go to this sector. The oil extraction plan, too, is very cautious and the 33-35 percent increase in production is completely feasible. The oil sector is required to become an advanced sector of the economy in the current 5-year period. Its extraction will take place mainly from known fields, through their intensive and rational utilization, making the network of wells denser, further extending the borders of the fields, and widely applying secondary methods.

Work in the oil industry must be mastered well and its numerous enterprises should function like one single system. Economic accountancy of expenditures must be reinforced and the class spirit and advanced technical-scientific thinking must prevail.

Natural and associated gas are playing an evergrowing role in the energy balance and as technological materials. The extraction of natural gas will increase about 2.6 times during the current 5-year period. This requires the accelerated sinking of new wells, limiting the number of passive wells to a minimum, and increasing the number of fields.

The tasks of the current 5-year period, but particularly the long-term development of the oil and gas industry, dictate the need to extend and accelerate drilling for the discovery of new fields. The objectives are tight, because by 1990 the recently discovered reserves must be increased about 4 times more rapidly than in the previous 5-year period. What is of major importance is to increase the consultative role of studies and to achieve a higher degree of success for every drilling operation.

The level of studies msut be raised, the coordination of various scientific disciplines must be reinforced, and more benefits should be derived from contemporary achievements in using equipment and new methods.

The coal industry is stabilized and has great prospects. Through the stipulated investments, its extraction will be intensified and extended both in the existing and in the new mines. Production of coal in the current 5-year period will be increased by about 1 million tons. The interest of the economy requires that efforts should be made to find new fields of utilization for this great asset -- as a fuel in industry and elsewhere, as an energy source to replace oil and gas, as a technological material for coking and in other fields, as a source of heating in rural and urban areas, and for exports. The geological sector should increase its studies and search for rich and coking coal and for new fields in the vicinity of larger users.

Increased efficiency in the production and use of coal requires a reduction in the degree of impoverishment and losses, the extension of enrichment and brickette-making, and the perfecting of the distribution of this voluminous product.

With the complete commissioning of the Koman hydroelectric power plant and of some smaller plants, the production of electricity will increase 80 percent; that is, 2.5 times more rapidly than social production. More efforts must be made to find profitable export markets, but the primary task for the present and the future continues to be the efficient utilization of electricity in the country, in industry, in agriculture, in transportation, as well as in its use for communal and family needs.

We possess energy resources and assets, but it is still necessary to work on a broad front to reduce the consumption of energy per unit of social production.

Fuels and electricity are powerful assets which condition in many respects the pace of our overall development. Let us, therefore, always use them efficiently and thriftily.

Chromites, copper, and ferronickel, whose long-term prospects are guaranteed and on whose basis we have built an entire industry which is advancing consistently toward closed cycles, will occupy first place in the surveys and extraction of solid minerals. Their production will increase 30-40 percent. The utilization of these assets is being considerably accelerated through the plan. While the interests of the coming generations require that we should progress carefully and in a calculated way and ensure adequate reserves with regard to chromites, copper, and certain other minerals which are directed mainly for the export market, the same interests require

that we should put them into economic circulation as soon as possible. It is better to pass on these natural assets to our future generations in the form of factories, plants, and combines, as means of production, as functioning assets rather than in the form of potential resources hidden underground.

Extracted natural assets will not only be increased and their structure improved, but their variety will also be extended through the discovery of new minerals like magnezite, refractary argyles, fluorides, olivinites, bauxites, (baritet), caolines, lookse coastal deposits [shkriferimet bregdetare], and rare minerals. The necessary mines, enrichment factories, and plants have been set up for these minerals. Many of these assets must find their use in industry and exports now, during the current 5-year period, and the efficiency of the investments and expenditure effected, which have not yet been returned to the economy, must be secured.

Greater demands will be made in this 5-year period on efforts to utilize renewable natural resources, the water resources, the forests, pastures, the flora, and the fauna. It is a fundamental task to utilize these assets in accordance with the plan, both intensively and extensively, but it is also our task to preserve them and to regenerate them without fail to a larger quantitative and qualitative extent.

Our country is rich in forests, but the balance between timber cutting and growth remains a constant preoccupation. Two fundamental tasks exist with regard to the present 5-year period and the future: an absolute reduction in the volume of timber used and the acceleration of comprehensive measures to increase and cultivate forests on a scientific basis. Through the joint efforts of the workers of the timber enterprises and of all timber consumers, technological wastes should be reduced to the minimum possible, with the intention of raising the coefficient of timber utilization by 5-10 percent.

The overripe forests should be exploited with priority, particularly by a more widespread use of cable cars. It is necessary to increase efforts to replace timber with other materials in the railroad sector, in the mines, in the production of household goods, in construction, in packaging, in the communal services, and in households. The party calls on all workers, but particularly on the young generation, to increase their contribution, through mass actions as well as in other ways, in order to extend afforestation. The agricultural cooperatives are also purged, according to their possibilities, to effect investments in forestry.

During the years of socialism water resources have been transformed into a national asset of tremendous importance in the fullest sense of the word. The gigantic hydroelectric plants and the irrigation system have given a powerful impulse to the country's socioeconomic development. As far as fishing is concerned, the possibilities offered by our internal waters have not been fully exhausted. Even without the lakes, these waters now cover 15,000 hectares. The fishery sector has all the possibilities of becoming a major supplier of foodstuffs for the population. Fishery enterprises must look ahead and must extend the farming of all types of fish that are suited to our conditions, relying on internal feeding resources. They must place their entire work on a more scientific basis, particularly as regards growing capabilities in the lakes and reservoirs and fishing more deeply in maritime waters, because the results to date speak of handicraft methods and casualness.

The transformation of potential natural assets, both renewable and nonrenewable, into active assets constitutes a fundamental problem, on whose correct solution the increased production capacity of society depends to a considerable extent. The party's policy concerning their activation has been and remains cautious and balanced; it is based on harmonizing the country's current possibilities with the interests of future generations. The intensification of the utilization of nature requires strict control

on the part of society concerning the rational use of its assets, as well as sound ecological education.

3. Existing Production Capacities Will Be the Base for Increased Social Production [subhead]

About 74 percent of the increased production in industry will be achieved through a more intensive utilization of existing production capacities, through reconstruction and expansions, and only one-fourth of the increase will come through new projects. With regard to field crops, over 95 percent of the increased production is expected to be achieved on the existing acreage through higher yields. This indicates that, in accordance with the party's policy, our economy will progress surely on the road of further intensification.

On the basis of the material-technical base that has been set up, our economy is capable of producing much more than hitherto. Most of our industrial projects, particularly in the metallurgical sector, in the engineering industry, and so forth, are new ones and in some cases have not yet fully mastered production capacities. As a result of organizational weaknesses, the lack of an adequate technical culture, etc., considerable production capacities are not being utilized with satisfactory technical-economic indicators. Shortfalls in the agricultural sector and in exports are also reflected in the level of utilization of possibilities to increase production in some factories and production lines.

The party's policy has been and remains that our industries should rely primarily on the country's raw materials, which currently account for 90 percent of their total annual consumption. The important thing is to open up broad avenues for using the minerals extracted in the country in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, in the chemical industry, and elsewhere. Many branches and sectors of the economy are currently faced with the task of adapting production technologies to the qualities of our minerals.

This problem is particularly acute in the ferrous metal industry. The workers in this branch should therefore continue even more persistently the efforts that have been started to produce types of steels and pig iron to meet the needs of our industries using the country's own raw materials. Although we possess and use large quantities of ferronickel ores of satisfactory content and valuable components, and although we have set up industries with considerable enrichment capacity, some specialists continue to set their sight on imports. The workers of the ferrous metallurgy sector must, therefore, even more persistently continue their efforts to produce types of steels and pig iron to meet the needs of our industries, using the country's own raw materials.

The party is confident that the pledge of the working people of the "Steel of the Party" combine to produce steels that are suitable for the needs of the engineering industry, to raise the degree of recovery [rikuperim] of the metals, and to achieve a higher degree of viability by this powerful complex as a whole, as well as by its particular plants, factories, and production lines -- the party is confident that these pledges will be turned into reality. Our ferrous metallurgy now possesses all the prerequisites to achieve greater accumulation for society by expanding production and reducing costs. This will increase the possibility of bringing nearer in time the completion of the ferrous industry's cycle through the construction of plants for the production of sheet steels [llamarina] and tubes. The engineering industry plays a decisive role in the normal functioning of the entire productive apparatus of the economy. The fact that it meets 90 percent of the country's needs for spare parts and nearly 40 percent of the machinery and equipment used in new investments is a great success. But this branch has the potential to increase its output by 20 percent

over what it does at present merely through a more intensive utilization of its production capacities and by making some partial complementations. These reserves will be used eventually, but it is in the interest of the economy that they should be used to the widest extent possible now, during the current 5-year period. This objective, together with a radical improvement in the quality of production and maintenance service, constitutes one of the major tasks confronting all the workers in the engineering industry.

Design work must be consolidated during the current 5-year period. In particular, technological design must be accelerated and completed. The engineering industry must open up the way to the use of our steels and must raise its efficiency in the utilization of metals. Efforts must be made to achieve a real and higher degree of viability in all engineering plants and workshops. Cautious progress and profound studies must be made with regard to concentration [of production] and cooperation within districts must be reinforced.

The reinforcement and extension of the engineering industry also raises the need of perfecting management at the branch level. The AWP Central Committee has recommended to the state organs that they should study the forms and possibilities of creating a central organization with full departmental functions, which would gradually take the country's major engineering plants under its wing. This will increase the possibility for more advanced specialization, efficient cooperation, more rapid technical and technological progress and, generally, a more intensive use of the engineering base that we have set up.

As has been declared, the main way to increase production capacities will be that of the reconstruction and extension of existing plants during the current 5-year period. This represents a great constructive and creative effort. It confronts the technical and scientific personnel -- in the enterprises, research institutions, design institutions, and up to the university -- with responsible tasks. These forces must engage themselves seriously in seeking and finding better technological, technical, and economic solutions.

Great reserves for the utilization of existing production capacities in all branches of production and services, in industry, agriculture, in construction, transportation, and so forth, lies in the effort to achieve a perceptible improvement in the quality of work and in increasing the range of products. Harmful attitudes have been observed with regard to the question of quality, both in concept and implementation. It is not deeply understood by everyone concerned that quality means quantity, long life, thrift, and efficiency and that quality is an essential prerequisite in meeting the needs of the economy and of the people. But finding a solution to this problem is not merely a matter of awareness; it cannot be achieved through education alone. Quality requirements must be clearly defined at the planning stage; they must be incorporated in standards and technical prerequisites and in contracts and agreements. Stricter control is required over quality and, in the same way that poor quality must be compensated for, good quality, too, must be stimulated. The internal and foreign trade sectors must raise their requirements concerning quality and must relinquish the practice of making mutual concessions as well as liberal attitudes.

The massive circulation of the country's assets, the extension of economic links between production and consumption, and the growing movements of the population have confronted the transportation sector with great tasks and new demands. To ensure that communications march in step with the development of the economy, investments will be increased during the 5-year period to make possible the expansion and consolidation of its various forms and to progress gradually on the road of replacing and regenerating the transportation stocks. The task of increasing the volume of commodity

transportation by 30 percent up to 1990 rests primarily on the fullest possible utilization of the transportation stock currently available. This makes it imperative that the workers in this sector increase their efforts to ensure the fullest possible utilization of mass forms of transportation, particularly the railroads. Road transportation must penetrate more deeply to the remoter areas and must be better placed in the service of agriculture. Internal maritime transportation is to be equipped with vessels suitable for our conditions and its activity is to be extended throughout the coastal areas and inland.

Large-scale transportation dictates the need to unhesitatingly introduce new technologies and the necessary mechanization in the ports, railroad stations, and large production and consumption centers. The planning of the distribution of raw materials and the circulation of commodities generally must be perfected by the central departments, eliminating unnecessary movements. Internal transportation in enterprises and cooperatives must increase its load and better meet the demands of production. The maintenance of vehicles and an increased coefficient of valuable utilization remains a primary task for all types of transportation.

Progressing constantly on the road of the intensive utilization of production capacities, the possibilities for extensive development in particular branches and sectors are considerable, both at present and in the future. In fact, we are investing to extend them to the exploitation of natural resources in general, in reclaiming land and improving pastures, in increasing the number of livestock, and also in increasing the production of industrial and food articles with simple methods.

Despite the tendency to further promote the intensification in the economy, over half the increase in the social product during the entire 5-year period will result from the increase in the number of workers employed in the production sphere. Although more slowly than the increase in the social product, material production costs in industry and elsewhere will increase about 20 billion leks. About two-thirds of the increase in the livestock sector and about three-quarters of the increased production in the horticultural sector will be achieved by increasing the number of heads of livestock and the number of trees in production.

The simultaneous and harmonious use of both ways of production development is not an indication of backwardness, nor does it leave us behind in know-how and technology. This is the advantage provided by our system. It arises from the aims of social production itself. The interests of the people require that every production possibility be turned into reality with a spirit of initiative and creativity, regardless of the label attached to the road that is followed, be it intensive or extensive, modern or handicraft methods.

4. The Development and Progress of Agriculture Has Been and Remains a Problem Concerning All Society [subhead]

This branch secures the food for the population and the essential raw materials for the light and food industry. Agriculture is the basis of the livelihood of the peasantry, a source of considerable accumulation and exports. Our society possesses the possibility of raising agriculture and the livestock-raising sector to advanced levels of development. In the same way that we are efficiently using our underground assets for the benefit of the people, let us also utilize the favorable social and natural conditions to secure increasingly more products from our agricultural land.

The fact that we have achieved self-sufficiency in the production of bread grains for an entire decade now is a success of historic importance. This achievement constitutes one of the pillars of the country's economic policy. But the task now is that even the more mountainous regions should also become self-sufficient in the production of

bread grains, should meet all the needs of the livestock sector with fodder concentrates, and should normally secure their essential grain reserves without fail.

Considerable reserves and possibilities exist to increase wheat production, but even greater possibilities exist with regard to corn. In recent years, the average yields achieved with regard to this crop have been only 4-5 quintals more than has been the case with wheat. At the same time, corn yields have been double that of wheat yields on areas covering thousands of hectares. This, and particularly the good results attained this year, reinforce our confidence that the task that has been stipulated, namely, to increase corn yields by 20 quintals per hectare by 1990, is fully feasible. The party organizations and the state and economic organs must adopt measures to disseminate the advanced experience gained in Shkoder, Sarande, and some other districts in recent years, throughout at least the coastal area. As a result of the remarkable scientific achievements of the Shkoder Corn and Rice Institute, the way has been opened to the cultivators for a rapid increase in corn production.

The industrial crops, namely, cotton, sugarbeet, tobacco, and sunflower, will occupy an average of 90,000 hectares of land, equal to about one-sixth of the total acreage occupied by field crops. More production and income must be secured from this acreage. This is the way to ease imports, to assure the normal working of the light and food industry, and to increase the volume of commodities available in the market. The processing industry and the procurement organs should increase their interest in these crops at all stages of their cultivation, should realistically assess both the quantity and quality of the products they are absorbing, and should practice advanced forms of absorbing them directly from the fields.

Vegetables, beans, and potatoes constitute the bulk of the population's diet. Perceptible shortfalls have been created in their production in recent years. This is mainly as a result of a distorted understanding and excesses in the implementation of the party's directive concerning the specialization and concentration of production. The Ministry of Agriculture and the State Planning Commission, as a result of unfounded studies and planning, have opened the way for many districts not to produce these products themselves, but to expect them from other districts, burdening the economy with unnecessary transportation and creating difficulties in the market as well. This practice has now been rectified as a result of the intervention of the AWP Central Committee.

Under our country's conditions, with a growing rural population distributed throughout the country's territory and in mountainous areas, both the production and the distribution of a number of agricultural and livestock products should be as near as possible to consumers. The Central Committee has therefore insisted and insists that every district, every agricultural economy, and even every village should meet the population's needs for vegetables, beans, and potatoes, as well as for milk and its by-products, through its own production.

Horticulture constitues a sector with rather low production and productivity. Although it occupies about 17 percent of the entire acreage, fruits, olives, and the vineyards bring in only 7 percent of the entire income of agricultural production.

Investments and other measures for the development of horticulture must be directed primarily toward increasing the number of trees per hectare, the intensification of services in the existing plantations, and increased productivity, particularly with regard to olives. The processing industry should set up special units, particularly for the purpose of semi-processing, as close to the centers producing fruit and grapes as possible. More care must also be shown in increasing the production and consumption of fruit by-products.

The party's policy, based on Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and on acquired experience, aims at the harmonious development of all the districts of the country, as has been done hitherto, progressing in the direction of narrowing the differences between the lowland areas on the one hand, and the hilly and mountainous areas, on the other. The acceleration of intensification in the lowlands will be accompanied by greater material support for agricultural production in the hilly and mountainous areas, particularly in the northeastern region. Lessons must be drawn from the negative consequences of the large difference in production between the lowland area, on the one hand, and the hilly and mountainous ones, on the other, in numerous districts. The state and economic organs and the Agricultural Bank should meet the needs of these areas with investments and credits to help them extend irrigation, buy chemical fertilizers, consolidate and raise the number of cooperatives specializing in livestock-raising, and make profitable improvements in the structure of production. They must also make every effort to ensure that the privileges of economic and financial measures in favor of the hilly and mountainous areas are used with a high degree of efficiency.

The great tasks posed in increasing agricultural and livestock production during the current 5-year period will be accompanied by the investments necessary to strengthen the material and technical base. The chemical industry will progress at a high rate, mainly in the service of agriculture. As a result of the construction of new projects and the extension of existing ones, the production of chemical fertilizers will reach 500,000 tons, or 55 percent more than in 1985, while the production of pesticides will increase 44 percent.

In addition to the Banje basin and its complex irrigation system, a further 105 irrigation projects will be built, extended, and reconstructed throughout the country. Sixty thousand hectares of land will be irrigated for the first time and irrigation will be improved over large areas. An agriculture using large quantities of chemical fertilizers and an intensive system of irrigation requires more organic fertilizers, which must be secured on a large scale and in every possible way.

Under our conditions, the growing needs of the working people for agricultural and livestock produce must be met from increasingly limited acreage per capita of the population. The increased fertility of arable land, its preservation, and its extension remain a permanent problem. The complex of measures connected with this broad process must be carried out on the basis of sound criteria and in accordance with natural and climatic conditions, the structure of production, and the yields that must be attained.

The state organs and scientific institutions must adopt measures to accelerate the work done on saline and acid-bearing soils, which occupy large areas, and to raise their productivity. They must halt the liberal transfer of arable land for building purposes. The Ministry of Agriculture and the state organs in the districts must strictly determine suitable measures to halt erosion and to rebuild terraces, particularly in the hilly and mountainous areas, and they must exercise strong control concerning the reclamation of new land.

The party has directed and has worked constantly to make agricultural enterprises the vanguard of our agriculture with regard not only to production, but also to organization, management, and the consciousness of the people working in them. There has been progress in this field and there are no few enterprises leading the development of our agriculture through their example. At the same time, there are still a considerable number that have not placed themselves properly in this role; there are even agricultural enterprises under the level of agricultural cooperatives with approximately the same conditions. The fact that some agricultural enterprsies incur losses cannot be justified. They have good soil and a suitable production structure and they have sufficient equipment and specialist cadres at their disposal. This state of

affairs must be remedied as quickly as possible. The cooperative system will be further strengthened and perfected in the current 5-year period. The number of higher-type cooperatives will be increased both in the area designated for priority intensification and outside it. The original process of combining those relations that are characteristic of group property with those that are characteristic of state property will be further deepened in the cooperatives. The further transformation of this intermediate type of socialist property in the agricultural sector into the property of all the people will follow a natural course and will not be carried out hastily. Group property will not exhaust its own possibilities for a long time yet.

The participation of society through nonreturnable funds for investment purposes will constitute the axle of the state-cooperative interrelationships, moving on gradually toward the increased proportion of state assets in the entirety of the production funds used by the higher-type cooperatives. The party is studying the possibility of experimenting and implementing new forms of distribution -- gradually and by the cooperatives themselves -- which would enhance the features of state property in the cooperatives of the higher type in the zone designated for priority intensification.

The second phase of the program of priority intensification will be generally implemented in the lowlands. This will be achieved through a broader extension of the cooperative-state relations in the higher-type cooperatives, as well as through the increase in and the more rational utilization of the material and technical base.

5. Let Us Struggle for a Guaranteed Well-Being and Its Constant Elevation [subhead]

The development of the economy during the eighth 5-year period creates the possibility of securing a larger accumulation fund and of increasing the consumption of the population. The accumulation norm is expected to reach about 28 percent and the consumption fund is to increase approximately twice as much as the population growth rate. In accordance with the increased purchasing power of the population, retail trade will increase 25 percent. The consumption norms of various agricultural and industrial commodities will increase both in rural and urban areas. The real per capita income of the population is expected to be 7-9 percent higher than in 1985. In the countryside it will rise twice as rapidly as in the cities.

It is essential to adopt comprehensive measures to fundamentally resolve the question of the supply of the population with agricultural and livestock products. This requires the efficient use of all methods for the increased production of meat, milk, eggs, beans, potatoes, and vegetables; the stimulation of the initiative and interest of the cooperatives and the peasantry; and a better use of technical and scientific achievements, advanced experience, improved breeds, selected seeds, and so forth.

A perceptible improvement must and can also be achieved in supplying the market with industrial mass commodities. This means a better use of existing productive capacities not only in the light and food industry, but also in the other branches of industry.

Let us all think and work imaginatively and creatively to increase production, to raise quality, and to increase the range of foodstuffs, clothing, household appliances, construction materials, and so forth. Let every reserve, even technological waste, be used thriftily to produce small and minute items.

The trade sector plays a particular role in improving the population's living standards. Its trade organs, both at the center and at the base, should acquaint themselves more closely with the demands of the people and with trends, should operate with greater flexibility in distributing commodities and in collecting goods from the countryside, should improve various forms of trade, and should raise their professional standards. The trade sector must show greater interest in the countryside and also

adopt measures to increase production through its own forces, reviving the good traditions that we had. The work of the trade enterprises should not be assessed solely from the fulfillment of the turnover plan, but primarily from the degree of the fulfillment of the needs of the population and the standard of its service.

Particular attention will be paid in the current 5-year period to the development of education, culture, and sports, as well as to the extension of the health service. The development of these sectors will be supported through new investments. A number of important institutions will be constructed, such as the Enver Hoxha Museum and new buildings for the National Library, the post and telecommunications, and the press. Nine large hospitals, 8 maternity hospitals, about 100 secondary and 8-year schools, 3 vacation centers for workers, 12 sports halls, and hundreds of smaller institutions will be built.

Over 71 percent of the pupils leaving the 8-year schools will go on to secondary education, compared with 57 percent in 1985. The army of specialists and higher-school cadres will be increased by an additional 21,000 people. New qualitative and quantitative developments will take place with regard to publications, cinematography, and television. The number of television and telephone sets will be increased. All television programs will be in color and will cover the entire territory of the country. Prophylactic and diagnostic work will be consolidated and medical services will be improved.

The needs of the population for repair and other services are varied and growing. As a whole, these services will grow by 43-45 percent during the 5-year period, but in the countryside they will be doubled. Communal enterprises are service enterprises and should therefore get away from the harmful tendency to produce new commodities at the expense of doing repair work. The weak link in the communal economic system is low quality and lack of correctness in serving citizens. The party organizations and state organs in the districts must correctly appreciate communal services and carry out work that is better organized for the qualification and education of the workers in this sector.

The AWP Central Committee had adopted a decision to secure abundant potable water for all the villages and inhabited centers of the country by 1990 through actions on a national scale. Following the achievement of self-sufficiency in bread grains and the electrification of the entire country, following the establishment of schools throughout the country and the linking of the overwhelming majority of inhabited centers through roads and the telephone, the provision of potable water will constitute another victory of the party and of the people's power. This great project will result in improved living standards, will bring to the countryside new elements of urban culture and life, and will serve as a factor with direct prophylactic and hygienic consequences.

The AWP Central Committee is convinced that, through joint efforts, the workers class and the cooperativist peasantry, in the spirit of class solidarity and volunteer activity, will successfully complete this great action ahead of schedule.

Our patriotic and industrious peasantry, distinguished by its militant spirit and patriotic traditions, its contribution in the liberation struggle and in socialist construction, and its high degree of political and ideological awareness, fully deserves this special solicitude of the party and the people's power.

The stability of the economy; full employment; the stability of the price of commodities and services; the social security system; the improvement of the housing, working, and vacationing conditions of the working people; and the prevailing public order

constitute those economic and social factors that make the life of our people prosperous and secure. These achievements will be consolidated with a perceptible increase in the social consumption fund, the construction of 85,000 apartments and houses, the consolidation of the pension system, particularly in the countryside, and so forth. Through the system of guaranteed services free of charge alone, every family will use, on the average, 3,000 leks from the social funds.

Socialism increases and enriches the demands of people. Through its policy, the party seeks to increase the possibilities of meeting these demands. Our line has been and remains that of normally meeting the normal needs of the people instead of petit bourgeois caprices, of expending for the good of everyone and not for excessive luxury. The party's policy has been to give priority to massive and essential needs, to view the present and the future, as well as the interests of all social classes and groups, in unity. We will consistently follow this road in the future.

6. The Perfecting of the Management of the Economy and Production Relations Constitutes a Need of the Times [subhead]

At the present stage the management of the economy must be raised to a higher level in accordance with the demands and achievements of technology and science.

The principles of management are the same, but they must be implemented in accordance with the concrete conditions of each district, enterprise, or smaller unit. The work has become more varied and problems have become more complex. This requires that everyone should be on top of his task; that the barriers of narrow local, departmental, and sectorial interests be broken down; and that particular interests be harmonized with general interests. Empirical and preindustrial methods of management can no longer apply.

Knowledge of the laws of the economy, science, and technology is an essential prerequisite for contemporary organization and management. Possibilities exist now to widely use information, computers, and statistics to extract analytical and synthesized data to serve managerial work.

Organization and management must be raised to a higher level everywhere, but particularly in the larger production systems. Management efficiency is verified and enriched through experience. The progress of production, the rational use of the country's resources, and technical and technological progress depend on it to a large extent.

Our economy is managed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, which combines the centralized management of the state from above with the initiative of the base and of the masses from below. The consistent preservation and implementation of the demands related to democratic centralism is a principled issue. In practice, however, we do come across cases of its incorrect application. The party has criticized some harmful manifestations that have been observed -- the tendency to centralize even the smaller things, to take away the competences of the lower organs, and to transform the base into a mere executor.

These manifestations are particularly unsuitable in relations with agricultural cooperatives. These must have greater initiative and competence in determining their own affairs and in finding the more rational ways of increasing their income and production in accordance with their own conditions.

Some unjustified concentrations and specialization in production also constitute excesses. There is no reason why the production of furniture should be concentrated in two or three districts, and the same applies to household commodities, soft drinks,

and even smaller articles used throughout the country. This increases production expenditure and causes supply difficulties, not to mention a uniformity of tastes. The concentration of the production of vegetables, milk, or eggs in larger units and on a cooperative scale has caused similar difficulties. The further intensification of the economy will undoubtedly require concentration, specialization, and cooperation on a large scale, in the same way that the use of reserves in an extensive way will require a larger degree of extension in the field of production, as well as supply.

The perfecting of economic management requires a strengthening of control throughout the pyramid of state and economic organs. Forms of the organization of control must be studied and must be better resolved at the basic production units -- in the brigades, sectors, units, factories, and so forth -- where work management, efficiency, discipline, and order begin. Special importance must be given particularly to internal control, this being control at the base, that follows the entire process of production and does not permit the creation of shortages, deterioration of quality, and excessive expenditure -- the kind of control, that is, which imposes strict order in keeping records on the movement of raw materials, finished products, and waste.

The efficient control of specialized planning, financial, and banking organs, which are important organs for the implementation of the economic policy of the party and of the state, must be perfected and raised to a higher level. These organs are required to further raise their control and preventive activity with regard to negative manifestations. They must actively influence all efforts to raise production and incomes. The specialized control organs must particularly follow up the distribution and the highly efficient use of accumulation. They must make every effort to constantly guarantee unity between production and consumption, to preserve correct proportions in the plan and in its execution, and to bar all paths to an increase in purchasing power without an accompanying increase in production and productivity and without ensuring the necessary economic efficiency.

In order to reinforce specialized state control, the AWP Central Committee has directed that measures be studied and implemented so that its organs be built and function in the most efficient manner possible. In this context, it is thought that a State Control Commission should be created, a body with ministerial attributes and full executive competences.

The rapid and dynamic development of the economy and of society as a whole constantly raises major, complicated problems requiring more complete and rational solutions. It is therefore essential to raise the advisory and executive force of economic thinking and logic in order to find the optimal solutions and the most rational ways of using the country's potentials and in order to clarify prospects. More studies should be carried out and more suggestions should be made concerning the most profitable placing of investments, concerning what structural changes in the economy must be stimulated first, concerning operations to be carried out in the field of foreign trade to secure more revenues, and so forth.

Strong economic logic must permeate the entire planning design, and executive activity can and must effect considerable savings in the field of investment and construction. Solutions must be found, leading to the increase of production capacities at the lowest possible cost, to reductions in the cost of construction, and to the shortening of construction schedules. The action for the construction of the Milot-Rreshen-Klos railroad shows the efficiency of the use of concentrated forces on a national scale as well as of advanced organization. The Central Committee hails our magnificent youth for its militant spirit, its inspiring example at work and in action, its creative activity, and its devotion to the socialist ideals characterizing it. The party is firmly convinced that the young generation will direct all its energy and thinking to implementing the tasks posed by the eighth 5-year period and that it will further promote its glorious traditions.

Economic management and thinking must always center attention on the questions of the efficiency of expenditure, the increased viability of production, the reduction of the cost of products, and the increase in the resources of accumulation. The broad fulfillment of plans in production and elsewhere is a decisive prerequisite for achieving the eighth 5-year period objectives with regard to raising accumulation resources.

A financial accumulation of nearly 2.4 billion leks is expected from cost reductions in production, construction, and services alone. This is one of the tightest tasks of the current 5-year period. A constant effort must be made in the plants, factories, fields, and everywhere else to reduce waste, losses, and damages in order to fulfill this task. Technical norms are to be established and applied in the use of raw and ancilliary materials; expenditure in particular units and in the enterprise as a whole is to be reduced; and persistent effort is to be made to increase the quantity of product from a given amount of raw materials, to increase the degree of recovery [rikuperim] of valuable minerals, and to reduce their depletion.

Particular attention must be paid to raising labor productivity, which accounts for 45 percent of the planned increase in social production. This requires that the mechanization of production and the technical-professional qualification of the workers be raised without fail, that technical norms be established everywhere, that discipline and order be tightened, and that the efficiency of working time be raised.

Our party has shown constant solicitude to see to it that the quantitative and qualitative development of production forces be accompanied with the perfecting of the various aspects of production relations. These have generally been built and are built on sound Marxist-Leninist foundations; they have had and still have a stimulating and mobilizing role. But new developments impose the need to perfect some of their particular links which, it is true, are partial and may appear to be a small matter, but which open the way to, and provide dynamism for, the development of production forces and increased economic efficiency.

Production relations are fundamentally relations of interest affecting society, the collective, and the individual. Socialism correctly harmonizes these interests. But experience shows that in the process of development, the possibility of the creation of temporary disharmonies exists. Attention must be paid to eliminating them as rapidly as possible. Though priority must be given to the general interest as always, the interests of the collective and of the individual must also be properly appreciated so that everyone may be directly interested in increasing production and productivity, in reducing costs, and in improving technologies.

Implementing the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress, a number of measures have been adopted for a more complete relationship of wages with the fulfillment of planned quantitative and qualitative indicators. In these fields, however, there are still a number of problems requiring study, experimentation, and practical application. The differentiated remuneration for the overfulfillment of planned tasks in the oil and chromite extraction branches, which has given good results, must be generalized and extended to other branches of the economy. Productive, qualitative, and thrifty work is to be stimulated and appreciated more highly -- not only morally, but also materially.

The party's policy concerning incentives must be properly understood and implemented. While giving priority to moral incentives, material ones must not be neglected. This must be kept well in mind, particularly concerning those collectives and individuals who overfulfill the planned tasks, and all the more when they make inventions and rationalizations of perceptible value to the economy.

Prices represent a powerful lever in the field of production, which they either stimulate or check. There are a number of problems to be studied in this field. However, improvements are currently necessary in the price of agricultural and livestock products that are procured, to bring the degree of viability of the various products closer together and to stimulate the overfulfillment of production plans, quality, and early products; to stimulate increased weight in livestock to be slaughtered; and to increase the withdrawal of subsidies from the economies in the lowland area in favor of other areas [e terheqes se rentes diferenciale nga ekonomite a zones fushore ne dobi to zonave te tjera].

Comrades, viewing the socioeconomic developments to date, as well as the objectives we aim to attain, we can reach the conclusion that, in the current 5-year period, Albania is making a considerable and important stride forward toward its transformation into an industrial-agricultural country, which represents a more advanced stage in the construction of the material and technical base of socialism. The party and the people have aspired and have struggled to reach this objective; they have even made sacrifices over entire decades.

By 1990 it is expected that industry will account for approximately 57 percent of the social product and 64 percent of the industrial and agricultural production taken together. The means of production will account for about 65 percent of the industrial production and the heavy industries will provide about 50 percent of the latter. With regard to national revenues as a whole, industry, construction, and transportation are expected to provide 52 percent of the total in 1990, agriculture 42 percent, and the other branches of the economy about 6 percent.

The approach toward this objective will surely inspire the workers class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, and all our people, to further promote the construction of socialism under the party's leadership and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, to increase the country's prosperity, and to raise the prestige of our beloved country even higher.

II. [Roman two] The Strengthening of the Party and the Elevation of Its Role to the Level of Contemporary Tasks [subhead]

The party has been and remains the decisive factor, the sure guarantor of progress on the brilliant road of socialism. Leading the people, united around it, the party has successfully accomplished and is successfully accomplishing its historic mission.

We have a strong, revolutionary, and militant party, politically and ideologically elevated, tempered in numerous and bitter class struggles, and possessing a tested leadership and organizational abilities. Its force and vitality have been tested throughout its entire life and activity in the past 45 years.

With such a party in the lead, our people will always march forward, will cope with every situation, and will defend and secure the country's freedom and independence and the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that the greater the tasks of the country's socioeconomic development, the more difficult and complex the questions seeking solutions, all the more decisive the party's leadership role becomes. Our society has currently entered into a phase of dynamic development. In testimony to this are the objectives stipulated in the new 5-year period. The elevation of the revolutionary fervor of the masses, the high degree of their mobilization, determination, and their readiness to work more and better constitute another important trait of our country's present life. Hence, the task arises that the party's entire activity and, concretely, its activity in the field of organization and leadership must be raised to a higher qualitative level.

A more concrete and operative work is now required, an effort which will increasingly serve the raising of the leadership role of the party organizations, the mobilization of the masses, and the resolution of problems. A dynamic and efficient leadership is needed in all links of the chain and at all levels of the party. Words, general observations, and leadership through orders and stereotyped instructions hinder progress and do not help to overcome the weaknesses observed in particular sectors of the party's activity. The fact that tasks have not been fulfilled in some sectors of the economy in Diber District for some years; the fact that the production of bread grains in Kruje District has not been satisfactory, and this also applies to the development of the livestock-raising sector; the fact that the oil and gas production plans are not being fulfilled in the districts of Fier, Vlore, and Berat -- all these facts are explained by leadership shortcomings on the part of party organizations.

The activity of the party organs and organizations is intended to ensure the fulfillment of tasks in all fields. This is also the best indicator of the quality of their work. The role of the party's effort must be felt more strongly, therefore, particularly where the difficulties are greater and progress is not made at the required pace. That is the place where the party's intervention is required; that is the place where the communists must set an example to remedy matters. Particularly at this moment the organization of work, the mobilization of the people, and the most efficient possible use of their energies are of particular importance. This is especially decisive in the field of the economy -- for finding solutions to its problems -- where it is absolutely essential that numerous forces, the party and economic organs, all the instruments of the party, should be set in motion better than ever before to fulfill the concrete and specific tasks incumbent on them.

The successful implementation of current tasks and the resolution of problems that arise in life require an even more intensive effort against manifestations of formalism in the party's work, against rigid schemes and outdated methods. The party organizations and the communists must respond on the spot to the fervor of the masses and the dynamism of life. They must be more agile and act with initiative. They can never be allowed to remain mere spectators. Slowness and procrastination severely harm the party's work.

Visible improvements are required in raising the quality of the organizational and leadership work of the party's basic organizations. They are directly responsible for the fulfillment of tasks in their respective sectors; they are directly responsible for the clarification and mobilization of the people; they must demand accounts from everyone and exercise control over everything. But there are not a few basic organizations that fail to stand up to the level of requirements and to play their role properly. One cannot speak about efficient work in the case of those party organizations in the livestock-raising sector in Gjirokaster and Sarande districts, where considerable damage was caused to livestock last winter, or in the case of those party organizations in some cooperatives in Mat District, where production plans are not being fulfilled and the value of a normal working day is low. The party organizations and the communists must roll up their shirtsleeves, must remain always in the lead, must boldly overcome difficulties, and must fulfill their tasks frontally.

The role of the party organizations in the state administration, and particularly in the central departments and institutions, must be particularly increased and reinforced. Criticism has been heard from time to time concerning the shortcomings and various weaknesses in the work of some departments concerning bureaucracy, technocracy, and departmentalism. It is the duty of the party organizations to make all the personnel and communists in the various departments aware of the fact that the solutions to many current and future problems affecting the entire country depend on them, that their method and style of work directly influence the performance of their dependent organs in the district executive committee, enterprises, and agricultural cooperatives.

The party insists that the basic organizations should be characterized by a lofty sense of responsibility for the implementation of its directives and orientations. They themselves should, primarily, make every effort to understand the ideopolitical content and the various socioeconomic aspects of these directives and orientations. A full understanding of their importance and need is a basic requirement for their correct implementation. The conditions in which various party organizations operate are not similar. The problems and tasks that must be resolved have their own characteristics. The party's orientations and directives cannot, therefore, be implemented in a uniform manner and through the same measures.

Doing creative work, the party organizations must, at the same time, take care not to fall into positions of formalism and mechanical implementation of directives. The district party committees must also carry out a more qualified effort with regard to directives; they must work them out in detail and concretely and thus provide efficient assistance to the basic organizations.

Numerous party organizations that have gained considerable experience exist in every district -- organizations operating with initiative, following up problems well, and carrying out their tasks successfully. A lively debate is carried out in these organizations; there is sound criticism and self-criticism; accounts are demanded and rendered concerning the implementation of decisions. Numerous party committees, bureaus, and organizations have gained considerable experience in this respect, particularly following the 13th and 14th AWP Central Committee plenums.

That experience must be carefully studied by party committees in order to raise and perfect the role of basic organizations everywhere, that those achievements and qualities may be further consolidated and promoted. Through a more qualified effort, the party committees could better assist the basic organizations and avoid all manifestations of tutelage and dictate, which check initiative and independent action. Maintaining direct links with the basic organizations, the party committees must not leave solicitude, assistance, and control solely in the hands of the party bureaus in enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions. It is necessary to understand once and for all that no task can be fulfilled unless every basic organization is raised to the level of current requirements. The structure of the basic organizations and the distribution of party members must also correspond to this aim.

The party's correct line, its Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the example of its members have always stimulated and mobilized the working people in great revolutionary actions and deeds. Our party's members are in the vanguard of socialist construction, distinguish themselves at work and in life, and militate like true revolutionaries. There are also Communists, however, who fail to distinguish themselves as such, who believe that their role is merely to carry out their task as workers, cooperativists, or officials. In fact, the horizon of the work of a Communist is a very broad one. His duty is to distinguish himself as a leader of the masses, as a political and social activist, as a fighter for the implementation of the party's line at work and outside it, in all directions and in all fields of life.

The party's constitution synthesizes the qualities of party members, qualities that are essential to fulfill their vanguard role. These qualities are in continuous evolution; they are being developed and perfected. At all times and in all situations, Communists are required to distinguish themselves as talented leaders and organizers of the masses, as innovators of what is progressive. The party and the people want the Communists always to be bold fighters for the implementation and defense of the party line; they want the Communists to lead the masses for the construction of socialism and the country's defense. They want the Communists to be men of sacrifice, devoted and loyal to the cause of communism; they want them to be modest and decent with people, but also strict against the enemies -- resolute opponents of opportunism,

sectarianism, bureaucracy, and unseemly behavior in public life. The people want the Communists to be near them as frequently as is possible; they want to talk to them. The people want the Communists to be distinguished social activists and exemplary citizens.

The clean personality of party members cannot be reconciled with manifestations of indifference, complacency, the tendency to avoid difficult work, and efforts to draw benefits from party membership or their position. The party organizations and committees cannot reconcile themselves to such manifestations and to a tolerant attitude toward such manifestations apparent in a particular Communist.

The party is carrying out a considerable effort to temper the Communists through all the varied forms and means of education and propaganda. The results attained in this are considerably positive. But improvements are also necessary in this field. Propaganda and educational work must provide Communists with greater political and ideological knowledge; it must strengthen their revolutionary spirit and character; it must assist them in better understanding and interpreting contemporary phenomena; and it must develop creative thinking in them, the dialectical manner of thinking.

The life of the party organization itself is a great school to temper the Communists. A tepid and bland life educates poorly. The lively and active life of the basic organization transforms Communists into real revolutionary fighters.

The considerable tasks confronting us require that control and accountability should be strengthened everywhere and in everyone. Control, accountability, and discipline are required in the first place within the party's own ranks. Every Communist, every party organization and committee should work persistently to ensure that the party's directives, orientations, tasks, norms, and decisions are implemented without fail. Unless this is done, the party cannot play its mobilizing, organizational, and leadership role, and its efforts will be fruitless. Correctness in everything and the example of the Communists, the cadres, and the basic organizations in the implementation of tasks, directives, and the party's orientations and norms -- this is what makes the party's control inspiring and acceptable. Without these essential prerequisites, no one will listen to them; it will be impossible to elevate the minds, hearts, and energies of the people to attain the targets in production and in every other field.

Control over the implementation of the party's directives and decisions is ensured through the lively activity of all Communists, through their close links with the masses, through the broad activation of worker and peasant control and control of the social organizations and of the masses themselves. Efficient control in our system means control by the class and by the masses. This has been one of the major factors why our country has progressed on the right path. The party demands that direct control by the class and by the masses be raised to a higher degree, that it be exercised continually and over everyone. The party has adhered to and continues to adhere to the great principle that the construction of socialism is a deed of the working masses led by the party. The masses therefore enjoy the full right and have the lofty duty to exercise their control in every aspect of the country's life. The control, remarks, and criticism of the masses constitute one of the most powerful instruments in making things progress in every sector.

The increase in the party's ranks with devoted and revolutionary elements is a great and vital problem for the constant strengthening of the party and its leadership role. About 147,000 Communists are currently militating in the party. About 6,000 candidate members have been admitted into the party on average annually since the Eighth AWP Congress. About 80 percent are from the production sector, about 70 percent are young, and about 40 percent are women. This has resulted in further improving the social composition of the party's ranks. Communists of workers class origin now constitute

39.2 percent of the party's membership, cooperativists account for 29.5 percent, and whitecollar workers 31.3 percent, that is, 1.4 percent less than before the previous congress. Female comrades constitute 32.2 percent of the membership, that is, 2.5 percent more.

The AWP Central Committee is of the opinion that the rate of new admissions and their social composition should continue to be as it was during the past 5 years, giving priority to the admission of Communists from the most difficult and important fronts of the production sector.

The party committees and basic organizations must devote particular care to increasing the ranks of the party. This question must be followed up and implemented earnestly, creatively, and on a scientific basis, avoiding any bureaucratic or liberal treatment, all formalism and superficiality.

The high quality of the moral values of fresh candidates for party membership remains, as always, a fundamental prerequisite. The party needs loyal, honest, and valiant people, but also people equipped with a broad cultural horizon, determined fighters for what is new, people of strong character who enjoy the affection and respect of the masses, are devoted to the cause of communism, revolutionaries who are ready to make any sacrifice, people who are determined to march on the road of Marxism-Leninism. The party needs freshness and new thinking. The dynamism of youth, combined with the experience of the older Communists, makes the party stronger, lively, and always active.

Naturally, the political past and the present political position of the candidate's family, his social origins, his professional abilities, and his results at work -- all this is of great importance. But no less important are his personal character, his political maturity and understanding, his moral and social personality, and his behavior as a citizen.

The candidate's probationary stage must also serve increasingly to cultivate and infuse these qualities. The probationary stage is a serious test to verify the qualities of the future Communist and a filter to keep the party's ranks constantly pure.

More open work is possible concerning the question of the admittance of new members into the party. It is possible to raise further the interest of the masses concerning those who seek to enter the party's ranks; it is possible to organize better the active soliciting of the working people for admission into the party. The masses are very interested in seeing that the best people enter the party's ranks, that the party always remains strong and pure and young. More careful work must be carried out with the mass organizations, particularly with the young organization, to induce them to understand better and to apply better their right and their duty to propose the most distinguished people in their ranks as candidates for party membership.

2. Let Us Steel the Party's Links With the Masses, Let Us Implement the Line of the Masses Everywhere [subhead]

The successful accomplishment of the considerable tasks that we are setting ourselves requires that the party's links with the masses be constantly strengthened.

"The party's problems -- Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us -- are problems that concern the masses; we must seek and find these problems among the masses; we must discuss and resolve them together with the masses, because it is precisely the broad masses that create, build, and transform the world, society.... The line of the masses reinforces the party a hundredfold, further deepens democracy in its internal life, and strengthens the party's links with the people." [quotation marks as published]

Direct links with the masses achieve and ensure the natural and clear communication required by the party and desired by the masses. The party must know the opinions and real concerns of the people, because it is from them that it draws conclusions and sets out tasks; it is from them that it verifies the correctness of its directives and orientations. Warm communication between the communists and cadres, on the one side, and the people, on the other -- the sincere and simple discussion with the people concerning problems -- is an effective way of finding out about the state of affairs and of strengthening the party's links with the people.

The social organizations: the Democratic Front, the trade unions, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, and so forth play an irreplaceable role in the implementation of the line of the masses and in strengthening the party's links with the people. They unite the workers class and the cooperativist peasantry, the intelligentsia and the women, the young people and young pioneers, veterans and pensioners in one single ideal and one single will. The party organs and organizations must, therefore, further improve their work with the mass organizations so that these bodies may further raise their mobilizing and implementing force; they must create broad horizons of work for the mass organizations and engage them concretely in resolving problems confronting the party. Above all else, it is necessary to raise the role and activity of those Communists who are militating in these organizations and resolutely avoid all manifestations of underrating them. It is essential that the party committees and basic organizations have a broader vision of the work and role of every one of the mass organizations, but at the base. The party's leadership must be continuous, but must in no way be confused with tutelage, which suppresses and dims the initiative and independent action of the mass organizations.

The party demands from the workers class that it remain, as always, in the frontline of the work and struggle for the construction of socialism, that it have its say strongly concerning everything, that it be combat-minded and irreconcilable with any position or manifestation and is contrary to the interests of society. The trade unions must further reinforce their educational and mobilizing activity, must further vitalize socialist emulation, must develop creative and innovative thinking among all the working people. It is also the duty of trade unions to show particular and constant care for the life of the working people and their working conditions.

Our youth has been and remains the most vital and active force of our society. It is the youth that will take up and carry further the baton of the revolution and socialism in Albania. It is the duty of its organization, the Union of the Working Youth of Albania, to work with favor, enthusiasm, and creativity -- under the party's leadership -- to see that our young generation is tempered politically and ideologically, that it is raised morally sound and physically strong. Tireless work is to be carried out so that our youth may acquaint itself and adopt for itself the freedom-loving political and revolutionary social traditions of our people, and so that it may be armed with the party's Marxist-Leninist ideology and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings.

As hitherto, the youth and its organization are to remain constantly in the frontline of the struggle and always on the offensive against the vestiges of outdated and backward customs and against the dissipative and degenerative influences of the capitalist and revisionist world; it should militate ardently for what is new and progressive at work, in life, in society, and everywhere else.

The party is confident that the youth, as always, will be characterized even more strongly by its thirst for knowledge, culture, and science, by its will to learn and study, and by its persistence in mastering technology and in qualifying itself increasingly to serve with devotion wherever needed by the country.

Women play a great and growing role in every aspect of the country's life. In our country women are present and active in all fields of life, in production, in teaching, in sociopolitical activities and everywhere else. Despite their great and unprecedented emancipation, the task remains to work even more to further raise the cultural and, particularly, the professional level of women for the constant democratization of relations in the family, the socialization of work in the family, the good upbringing and education of children, and so forth. The role of the Albanian Women's Union -- to make women more conscious of the tasks confronting them -- must be better felt here.

The Democratic Front, the organization enjoying great authority among the people, has a broad field of activity in the political and patriotic education of the masses. Its noble and lofty mission is to steel the unity of the people around the party and to protect and reinforce the people's regime. As a bearer of the freedom-loving, democratic, and revolutionary traditions of our peoples, it is the duty of the Democratic Front to develop and to implant these qualities deeply among the masses. Social problems concerned with relations between people, their way of life, and the struggle against alien manifestations must occupy an even greater place in the work of the Democratic Front organizations. The party also highly appreciates the contribution of war and labor veterans in the patriotic and communist education of the masses.

The leading organs of the mass organizations are required to show greater creativity and initiative, to vitalize the internal life of their respective organizations, to generalize the positive experience, and to raise the efficiency of their activity. These organs are required to work better to preserve the traits of their organizations and to devote more attention to their concrete and specific problems. They should at all times keep under consideration the particular traits of the various sections of the population, their development and evolution, their specific demands. In this way they will be able to carry out better their function as instruments of the party and to bring its line to the masses and act as tribunes of the voice of the masses.

3. The Ideopolitical and Professional Elevation of Cadres -- A Fundamental Prerequisite for the Country's Progress [subhead]

The work carried out by the party during the past 5-year period in selecting cadres and in educating them is a rich one. Compared with the situation at the end of 1980, in 1985 our country had 53 percent more people with secondary and higher education. The fact that about 35 percent of the cadres are of workers class origin and that 42 percent are young girls or women is another success of the party's policy. This large army of cadres, educated by the party, has played a great role in all our achievements and progress. The task is that these qualified forces be used increasingly better and with a high degree of efficiency.

The efficient activity of the political, economic, and social institutions of all working collectives, is closely related to the ability of those who are leading them. The promotion of cadres and their selection is therefore a matter requiring particular care. Energetic and suitable people are now required in every sector, people who are capable of promoting progress. It is necessary to understand well that life, the country's development, and the problems requiring solutions confront the cadres with demands for greater knowledge and capability, more culture and dynamism. Every field of activity can currently be led successfully only with qualified work based on scientific methods.

Political guarantees and purity of the moral personality remain unchanged prerequisites in the selection and promotion of cadres. Professional ability, cultural and scientific level, the correct attitude of cadres toward what is new, and flexibility in the conditions of a rapid development of the country's socioeconomic life assume particular importance in order to ensure a more competent management.

Management cadres progress and grow gradually, learning and gaining experience, affirming themselves through the accomplishments of their works, gaining the confidence and respect of people. Their appointment must be natural and justified. Sentimentalism and subjectivism in the appointment and promotion of cadres are harmful.

It is essential that high demands be made on cadres. This is one prerequisite for raising their sense of responsibility and their capabilities. Our socialist society cannot tolerate a situation in which those who are incapable and sluggish remain in charge of work, because they check its development and progress. New times and new tasks require people who live and keep in step with the comprehensive development and progress of the economy, science, culture, and the country's life.

The party organizations and the various state organs must therefore give greater support to young cadres, to the talent that is constantly born in our society. The fact that about 70 percent of present-day cadres are under the age of 40 is a very positive indicator; the number of cadres over 51 years of age represents only about 8 percent of the total.

The promotion of young cadres is an essential prerequisite dictated by the dynamic development in the country's life and the means to ensure a normal continuity of generations. Our people are currently entering life much better trained and have a broader educational, cultural, ideological, and professional horizon. They are inheriting the experience of past generations and their starting base is much more advanced. Let us therefore better appreciate the young cadres, let us have greater confidence in them, let us charge them unhesitatingly with tasks and responsibilities, opposing all conservative attitudes.

A system for the training of cadres in all specialities has been set up in our country. At the pace that we expect to progress, we will generally meet future needs satisfactorily. The structure of cadre training is also satisfactory. The question of certain improvements needed with regard to specialization will be resolved, as hitherto, at the base of the respective branches as well as by creating new branches and specialities.

It is important to further raise the overall standard of cadre training. Our cadres must learn constantly from books, from life, from advanced experience, and from each other. The party is opposed to the self-complacency apparent in some cadres who are not only studying too little, but who also believe that they can work and carry out their tasks without having to learn, without broadening their own horizon.

The situation in which we are living requires increased care in revolutionizing the cadres. The party has worked and continues to work persistently for the ideological and political education and tempering of the cadres, to strengthen and imbue in them those lofty virtues and qualities characterizing our people and party. This purpose is also served by the consistent implementation of the party's policy concerning the circulation of cadres, the insistence that they must be accountable to the masses, and their direct participation in productive work in various forms. Our cadres are inspired and draw lessons from the determination and creative initiative of the masses, from the combative spirit with which the masses meet difficulties and overcome obstacles.

A revolutionary cadre is a farsighted cadre who looks far into the future of the development of the country, the enterprise, or the institution where he works, who looks beyond the wall of temporary difficulties and obstacles, beyond present achievements.

Having a clear idea about future tasks, our cadres are better able to organize things well, to open up horizons to the working people, and to mobilize them for the successful implementation of the party's directives and the plans.

Visible improvements have been made in the activity of all state organs during the period covered by this report. The work of the state organs and of the entire state administration has been more efficient. The qualification of the people's councils and of their executive organs to carry out their functions competently and responsibly has also improved. The work for the education and qualification of their members has been further improved.

The constant strengthening of the state organs must, as always, remain at the center of the party's attention. The party sees to it that the state organs, at all levels, carry out their activity on the basis of the Constitution and the laws derived from it, that they fully carry out the tasks with which they have been entrusted. Let us avoid those cases when the councils at a higher level usurp the competences of the lower ones, and it is also all the more necessary not to permit executive or other state and economic organs to usurp the competences of the people's councils. Every organ, institution, military command, enterprise, or cooperative is under the obligation to recognize the authority of the people's council and to refrain from carrying out any activity without its prior authorization and approval when this is required by the laws and regulations in force.

It is particularly essential to strengthen the authority of the people's councils at village level and to make certain that the competences it enjoys by law are not usurped by the united council [keshilli i bashkuar]. The problems concerning the villages are numerous. They are related not only to production, but also to supplies for the population, health service, schools, culture, post and telecommunications, the construction of houses, potable water, hygiene, and other daily needs of the population. It is not appropriate that almost all questions pertaining to the villages should be concentrated in the hands of the united council, the party bureau, or the presidium of the cooperative. These are great problems concerning the party organization in villages. It is necessary to admit, however, that the party organizations do not devote to these problems the attention that they deserve. They concentrate themselves mainly on production questions and fail to lead the village's life in general.

In our socialist system the relations between citizens and the state are defined in the Constitution and other basic laws which guarantee them all the conditions and possibilities of being equal before the law and exercising their rights. The correct enforcement of our laws, strict respect for the interests of the state and for the rights of citizens, and the active participation of the masses in the country's administration help to protect and to develop our socialist democracy.

The organs of the general prosecutor, of the courts, the Investigation Office, and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have important tasks in law enforcement. They must bear well in mind that they are organs of the people's power and must consequently enforce the laws and norms strictly; they must act justly and strictly, defending the interests of the state and society, as well as the rights, lives, and property of citizens.

The activity of these organs is not merely of a punitive nature; it is also educational. There is, therefore, room for considerable activity, coordinating this with the work of the party and state organs, the mass organizations, and economic organs.

Laws, regulations, and instructions are correctly applied when there is adequate knowledge of the party's line, when every problem is considered in a profound political and ideological manner, and when control and accountability are reinforced.

The activity of the Internal Affairs organs must also be raised to a higher level in all types of its services and respective units, particularly in the Border Guard units and the Police. These organs have successfully overcome in their work the consequences of the inimical activity of Mehmet Shehu, Kadri Hasbiu, and others. But under the conditions of continued class struggle within the country and outside it, it is essential that the Internal Affairs organs better carry out the tasks entrusted to them by the party, sharpen their vigilance, and act agilely and intelligently in uncovering and preventing inimical and criminal activity.

The strength of the organs of Internal Affairs, State Security, the Border Guards, and the Police lies in their links with the people. The extension and strengthening of these links constitute one of the major tasks of the work of the party and of the commands of these organs.

To ensure the successful accomplishment of tasks, greater solicitude must be devoted to the ideopolitical education, the technical and professional training, and the military and physical training of the personnel of these organs and of the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is essential that the leadership and control of the party over these organs be constantly reinforced and improved.

In accordance with Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the party and the people's power have provided our country with an invincible defense. Our Army has truly become an army of the people, politically educated and well-trained militarily, equipped with a lofty consciousness and discipline and with the necessary military equipment. The Army has always remained loyal to the party and the people and, despite the efforts of the enemies, it has not deviated from its lofty mission of defending the country and the victories of the revolution.

Bearing in mind developments throughout the world, the party will devote the necessary solicitude to strengthening the country's defense potential.

The country's defense requires an army with an all-round political, military, moral, psychological, technical, and physical training, consistently implementing the requirements of our Military Art of People's Warfare. The commands and the staffs in the various units of all the branches of the Armed Forces must carry out training programs of high intensity and quality, must maintain their combat readiness at the level of the requirements of the situation, and must tighten their vigilance. The strengthening of conscious and steel-like discipline and the strict implementation of all the regulations increase the combat readiness of the Army and the country's defense potential.

The party's leadership has been and remains the decisive factor in maintaining the popular nature of the Army, and in its reinforcement and modernization. The party committees and organizations in the Army are required to work even better for the ideopolitical education of Army personnel, to maintain and develop the traditions of the National Liberation Army, to perfect the moral and political personality of servicemen, and to strengthen relations between cadres and soldiers, and between the people and the Army.

III. [Roman three] Let Us Raise Higher the Ideological Work of the Party and the Spirit of Revolutionary Militancy [subhead]

In the years since the eighth congress, the ideological and cultural revolution has intensified uninterruptedly. People's political awareness has risen to a higher standard; the militant unity of the people round the party has been further tempered; and the masses' conviction concerning the advantages and vitality of the socialist order has been strengthened.

Our socialist society has continued to advance without rest on the road to its emancipation and civilization in all areas. If we rightly consider our economic progress as incomparable with the past, then the transformations in people's political and ideological beliefs, their psychology and mentality, their way of life and social relations are unprecedented.

The Albanian party and people, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at their head, have waged a long but glorious and victorious struggle. Just as they fought with determination and bravery for the freedom and independence of the fatherland, so they fought to demolish the very foundations of the social injustice and class privilege of past regimes and for the creation of a new man, liberated from every kind of social, economic, and spiritual subjection, master of his own labor and of the destiny of the country.

1. Healthy Political and Ideological Convictions -- A Guarantee for the Progress of Our Socialist Society [subhead]

Socialism has enriched and enhanced people's lives and has freed them from a series of shackles which fettered them in their inner lives. It has propagated, strengthened, and given new content to everything of value which the Albanians inherited -- their patriotism and spirit of endurance, their moral purity and upright character, their thirst for knowledge and progress; and their democratic feelings. Feuds and vendettas came to an end because socialism created a steadfast union of people's interests and aspirations. Religious divisions, which split people and caused enmity between them, were abolished. All the regions of the country were brought closer and were linked to one another, strengthening the unity of the people and the nation.

Our socialist society, through many-sided struggle and labor, has created a new, progressive morality, which is now deeply inculcated, especially in the young generation. It was not easy within the period of a few decades to demolish the psychology of private property, carried down the generations for millennia, and in its place to shape a new concept of common property and a socialist attitude toward it. It was not easy to emancipate one-half of society -- Albanian women -- who had been discriminated against by legal codes and backward customs. It was not easy to reconstruct the Albanian family, where conservation and patriarchalism held total sway.

Socialism has given to all the opportunity to live with dignity, through their own labor, guaranteeing work for all and ensuring an uninterrupted increase in prosperity. Our citizens live in peace because they are not exploited by anybody; they have no fear of rising prices or taxes or fear that they will lose their jobs or not find medical treatment or education. The guarantee for this is the socialist economy that we have erected, our ever more productive agriculture, and our socialist national culture which forges constantly ahead.

For the first time, with the arrival of socialism, Albania created its own modern state, with an effective administration of the national wealth and a sound organization of social life. For the first time our country enjoys a free and independent national life and has its own voice in the international arena. Our people have never before been so confident regarding their present and future lives.

In no other society are the duties of the individual toward the group and those of the group toward the individual so harmoniously organized as in socialist society. Socialist society ensures by law and realizes in practice, to a truly great extent, all the democratic freedoms and rights of man, without distinction of sex, nationality, regional origin, or social position.

Our duty as Communists and citizens of the new Albania is to defend, consolidate, and advance these historic victories of socialism ever further forward. Above all, it is necessary for us to consolidate and further strengthen people's sound political and ideological convictions concerning the justice of the socialist system, with its advantages and unlimited opportunities for the all-round development of society and the individual.

Marxist-Leninist doctrine -- which forms the basis upon which socialism is built, develops, and attains its victories -- keeps alive and makes these convictions unshakable. Deep theoretical convictions are those which make conscious people's struggle and labor for the construction of socialism and which help people to correctly understand life, social processes, and their developmental tendencies. They are a basis and a powerful weapon with which to defend the victories that have been gained and to stand undaunted before the pressures which the bourgeoisie, reaction, and modern revisionism exert upon socialism.

The victorious doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the brilliant teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha lie at the foundation of the party line and all its work. They have enabled the party to direct itself unmistakably in every situation and to solve the many problems which have emerged in the course of time. The vitality of Marxism-Leninism and its capacity to enrich and develop itself and always to be the most coherent and up-to-date world view is constantly being proved in the practical course of our lives.

A paramount issue for a communist party and a socialist state is its standpoint toward Marxism-Leninism. Loyalty to its principles and their correct implementation decides the fate of the revolution and the successful construction of a new society. Under present conditions, when communism has been betrayed in many countries of the world and when a united front of the bourgeoisie, reaction, and revisionists has hurled itself furiously against it, the defense of Marxist-Leninist doctrine and its creative implementation is a very important duty for our party, a duty of national and international importance.

The party and our people have had the great good fortune that for whole decades they had at their head an outstanding Marxist-Leninist who knew not only how to defend passionately the doctrine of Marx and Lenin, but how to implement it in a creative way under the conditions of Albania and how to make a particular and extremely valuable contribution to the doctrine's development and enrichment. The theoretical thinking of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his teachings, and the revolutionary experience of our party are an inexhaustible treasure store, a compass which orient us and always guides us in our domestic and foreign policies and in implementing the program of the socialist construction of the country.

Our party has already created an entire system for the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists and the masses. A large and varied political and ideological literature

has been placed in their hands. Now we have in Albanian almost the complete works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. It is especially important that our working people have in their hands the great treasure of the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which speak in a profound and scientific manner about the experience of the revolution and our socialist construction and the struggle against imperialism and revisionism. In them are found important analyses and conclusions concerning the history of Albania, its socialist construction, and the processes of modern world development.

But what the party now demands is that in our entire system of Marxist-Leninist education, from our secondary schools to the university, in the party school, in the broad party educational network, in the many propaganda media, and in the press and publications, we should raise the level of labor for the propagation and mastery of Marxism. It is the duty of these organizations not only to acquaint people with principles and theoretical foundations, but to shape their Marxist thinking and to provide them with Marxist methods of judgment and treatment of all phenomena and problems. All these organizations must think and work to find more effective, enterprising, and lively ways of attaining this goal. Formalism, pedantry, and rote learning hamper the true and deep mastery of Marxism and turn it into a dry, moralistic doctrine -- a doctrine of enlightenment rather than a weapon to transform, as Marx put it.

The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, other educational institutes of the social sciences, and college departments have particular duties in this area. It is up to them to produce more profound analyses and Marxist interpretations of new phenomena, to publicize historical experience with topical relevance, and to refute distortions of Marxism-Leninism with sound reasoning. The standard of the propaganda of the party depends upon depth of study, the scientific level of research, sound logic, and force of argumentation.

Our people need Marxism not for decoration, but as an effective weapon to interpret correctly and solve the many problems which emerge in the course of the socialist construction of the nation. It is well-known that the growth of the economy, the development of education and culture, the various connections between productive forces, the relations in production, the social changes which occur in various strata of the population, and people's new spiritual demands present new, more complicated, and involved problems and tasks. Only the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, a deep knowledge of this theory, and the ability to connect it with life and revolutionary practice make it possible for these questions to be successfully confronted and solved in a creative way.

This is what our party has always done. It has never demanded ready-made solutions or applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the past in a mechanical way. This is what Comrade Enver Hoxha taught us. One of the greatest legacies which he has left us, one of his most valuable teachings is that every problem that arises -- whether economic, political, ideological, or cultural -- must be approached with revolutionary courage, a creative spirit, and in a dialectic way. He instructed and taught the party, Communists and cadres, to struggle constantly for things new and progressive and never to become the slaves of formulas, habits, styles, and methods which have become outmoded.

In this spirit the party must also confront the problems of the present and the future, conscious that life does not stand still but is in a continual process of development, transportation, and refinement. In this way our ideological work will mean that the revolutionary impetus and militant spirit of Communists and the working masses will uninterruptedly grow and that the creative thinking, technical and organizational abilities, knowledge and culture of vanguard working people, cadres, and specialists will be set in motion and used most effectively for the progress of the nation.

In fostering a spirit of initiative and revolutionary courage to find and put forward better solutions to problems that emerge and in replacing one form of organization with another kind -- more progressive, rational, and appropriate to present conditions -- the party must struggle both against indifference, which thrives upon the idea that special organs and the high party and state leadership think about such matters, and against a kind of fetishism that regards rules, regulations, and instructions as permanently valid. Considered theortically, these viewpoints are metaphysical and antidialectical, while from the political angle they lead to conservatism. In practice, if they take root, they create a social type who only applies rules mechanically, repeats and hands down things that are well-known, and brings nothing new into work, science, and culture.

The party cannot reconcile itself with such attitudes, characteristic of bureaucrats and backward people and those who stick to a certain working method and do not want to stretch themselves physically or mentally. The party demands that the administration, the party committees, the organs of the state and the economy, the scientific institutions, and the colleges should seethe with the thinking and creative imagination of the masses and that people should state their opinions frankly and without shyness, offering suggestions and proposals for smoother running work, producing scientific analyses and conclusions, engaging in discussions and symposia, all for the sake of socialist construction.

A very important field for the ideopolitical work of the party is activity to strengthen continually the moral and political unity of the people. The party and the broad working masses among us have embarked upon major tasks in developing industry, modernizing agriculture, developing culture, strengthening defense, and so on. We will do this relying on our own resources. And so let us unite people's efforts and energies into a single current, work together harmoniously and in a spirit of solidarity, in a lofty spirit of collectivism, always helping each other and standing by each other through good and ill, in friendship and true affection for each other. Only united can we overcome every difficulty and attain every goal. The strength of Albania lies in its people, and the strength of the people in their unity and togetherness around the party.

Our country is not a large one and our population is small. To cope with the dangers that threaten freedom and independence and our socialist life from enemies who are larger and more powerful, our people must always be strongly united, in oneness of thought and deed, rising above narrow and petty interests, vigilant, and always on guard. This unity of the people and their links of steel with the party have been and remain one of the pillars of people's power and socialism in Albania.

The unity of our people is a living and wonderful reality. Socialism has created all the necessary economic, political, ideological, and moral foundations for an unprecedented union of the working people. However, we can never imagine that there is no room for work to maintain and strengthen this unity. Not only do internal and external enemies attempt to threaten it, but it is also harmed by signs of bureaucratism, liberalism, sectarianism, inattention to the voice of the masses, the underestimation of the interests of various strata of the population, and every incorrect activity that arouses discontent among our people.

It is the task of the party to work tirelessly everywhere to reinforce the unity of the people, in the towns and the countryside, in every working collective down to every family. To this end, importance must be granted not only to major problems of a political and ideological character, but also to matters involving people's daily lives, such as the communal service sector, retail matters, education and health, transport, housing, employment, and so forth.

The time has come to enrich ever more fully the content of our socialist life with new elements drawn from the swift development of the country and from people's creative labor, to constantly refine relations in production to give vent to the inexhaustible physical and mental energies of the working people, to strive always for a higher level of civilization relying upon unshakable moral values and a broad and deep culture, to strengthen further the people's power and carry forward socialist democracy, and to strengthen Albania's international position.

In these efforts, true socialist patriotism finds its expression. Our patriotism in every era has been marked by a lofty spirit of sacrifice for the interests of the people and the nation, a democratic and progressive spirit, and a devoted service to the fatherland. History has made patrotism one of the basic characteristics distinguishing the Albanians, a characteristic which has given them the strength to confront the onslaughts of epochs and has increased their faith in the strength of the people and the future of the country.

At certain stages patriotism also acquires a certain content appropriate to the tasks standing before the nation. If during the War of National Liberation every patriot was called upon to fight with weapons for the liberation of the fatherland, or later to fight for major socioeconomic transformations, patriotism today is expressed by the contribution each person makes to promote production, skills, science, and culture, to strengthen defense, to affirm the new norms of behavior and of our way of life, and to reinforce the unity of the people.

The feeling of patriotism never ages or rusts. It has been and remains a great moving force in society, a sure shield not only against the direct threats of enemies toward the freedom and independence of the fatherland, but also against the ideological and cultural aggression of imperialism. It remains a powerful weapon with which to combat the poisonous ideas of cosmopolitanism and apoliticism which imperialism seeks to impose upon the peoples.

True socialist patriotism has nothing in common with bourgeois nationalism. It is closely tied to proletarian internationalism. Socialist man, freed from national oppression and social exploitation and believing with total conviction in communist ideals and the liberation of all mankind from the chains of capitalism, cannot but wish well to all other peoples and will support all those struggling for freedom and independence, social justice and democracy.

Throughout its existence our party has consistently maintained the principle of the class struggle and has waged this struggle on all fronts at every stage of socialist construction. It has started from the principle that the class struggle, with its particular features, continues uninterruptedly under socialism too. This struggle is conditioned by objective factors, such as remnants of the previous society, foreign bourgeois, and imperialist pressure, as well as the growth from these bases of elements that decay and transform themselves into antisocialists and enemies. Our party has considered and still considers the class struggle as a principal moving force in society. It leads forward the revolution and socialist construction, reinforces the unity of the people, cleanses people's consciousness, and tempers them as revolutionaries.

Our socialist life is in constant development. Many revolutionary transformations have taken place and are taking place in the social and material sphere, in the sphere of traditions, customs, tastes, behavior, and so forth. Things old, outmoded, and alien are disappearing and in their place, things new, progressive, and socialist are affirmed. Experience shows that this process does not always run smoothly and on the correct lines. There are more than a few people who are out of step with the whole of society and who hold onto old ways and such remnants of the past as still exist.

There are others who fall prey to the influences of the bourgeois-revisionist world. This is an important front of the ideological struggle, which requires determination, clear-sightedness, maturity, care, and tact, because it is a struggle primarily waged among ourselves, in the bosom of the people, and even among the ranks of the party.

Socialism, within a relatively short period, has created its own new man -- revolutionary, creative, determined to forge ahead, overcoming every hindrance and difficulty. But despite all the successes achieved in the communist education of people, we still come across a few negative phenomena against which everybody -- the party, the people's power, the mass organizations, and the whole of public opinion -- must wage a determined struggle.

Damage and usurpation of common property by irresponsible and delinquent people, breaches of discipline at work, and tendencies to give as little as possible to society and to take out as much as possible are totally irreconcilable with our socialist morality and ideology and the good traditions of our people.

These phenomena, if they are not curtailed and eliminated, transform themselves into a major evil, which erodes the economic basis of our society, the foundations of the people's power, and encourages harmful antisocialist tendencies. So we must fight them determinedly, consistently, and with severity.

Attitudes to work and property have been and will always remain a fundamental criterion for measuring the socialist consciousness and ideopolitical level of each individual. This has been and will be one of the main directions of the whole educative work of the party.

Let us not forget that petit bourgeois psychology has still not disappeared. This psychology is the principal source of alien manifestations in attitudes toward labor and property and of putting self-interest before that of society, and it took strong root among us. In contrast, the tasks set forth by the party for the development of the nation, which are constantly increasing, demand great and continual mobilization from the working people, alongside strict and comprehensive discipline at work and continual reinforcement of common property.

The struggle against alien manifestations in attitudes toward work and especially toward property is waged on a broad front and with varied educative, administrative, economic, and organizational measures. In particular, the party and all its instruments will pay close attention to those who damage common property and those irresponsible people who usurp the labor of others, laying their hands on socialist assets, no matter to how small an extent. In such people we see reflected a low ideopolitical level, lack of good behavior and culture, and the taint of petit bourgeois self-interest. Yet, with persistent efforts, there is every possibility of stopping these incidents in their tracks.

But it is a different matter in the case of those who quite consciously steal and damage common assets and those belonging to citizens, assets which have been created with so much labor and sacrifice. They are acting as class enemies. A strict attitude must be adopted against them, and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be enforced without concessions.

Along with persuasion, effective measures for the security of property and its good administration and for strict control on amounts of work and its rewards have assumed particular importance in the struggle to strengthen socialist attitudes toward labor and the protection of property. Above all, there must be an increase in the role of the influence of public opinion and the creation of a general atmosphere of opposition and nonacceptance where these phenomena are concerned.

Major upheavals have taken place in traditions, customs, behavior, patterns of life, family relations, attitudes toward women, and the struggle against religious prejudices and beliefs. United opinions on all these problems are gradually being formed, consolidated, and refined. But this process cannot be left to develop spontaneously, beyond the attention and activity of the party. Let us not forget that vestiges of the past in people's consciousness, especially in the above-mentioned fields, hold out very long, and that if they are not fought against, they revive and spread.

These phenomena weigh particularly upon women and young people, oppress their lives, and hamper their progress and emancipation. So women and young people must always be on the offensive against patriarchal and petit bourgeois concepts, vestiges of tribal society, and should defend and consolidate our new socialist norms.

The party has stressed and stresses again that we must be vigilant and never pause in our struggle against the decadent and degenerative influences of the bourgeois and revisionist world that surrounds us. In particular we must not accept, but determinedly reject, dissolute behavior and extravagant tastes, which make life empty, vain, and purposeless. We must remember that those who become the carriers of these influences have taken the wrong road, with harmful consequences for themselves and for society.

If we still encounter alien manifestations and antisocialist behavior, this is not only because there are still people who behave and act in an antisocialist way, but also because there are still Communists and working people who are not always vigilant and who show themselves to be liberal and indulgent toward them and do not respond energetically.

Our new man cannot and must not ever stand indifferent and passive when faced with a lack of order and discipline, with favoritism and back-scratching, with demands for privilege and unfair claims, with breaches of state laws and rules, and with behavior and attitudes that do not correspond to the norms of our morality.

Every attempt to justify these alien manifestations by pointing to difficulties of one kind and another means falling into fatalism. These phenomena do not stem from the nature of our society, and so our society has every possibility and all the resources necessary to curb and prevent them. Every lack of appreciation of these alien manifestations, every retreat before them, and every abatement of our struggle leads to their firmer hold and wider spread and increases the danger they pose to socialism.

All these important ideological problems tied to the forging of our new man are the constant object of the educative work of the party, which has the duty of instilling them into every milieu and every family, influencing every worker in town and country.

The modern era and the times through which we are passing require determined and militant revolutionary people. As a party and a state we have a great historic responsibility to defend and strengthen the freedom and independence of the fatherland, to build and enrich the new socialist life of Albania. The burdens we have shouldered are heavy, but we have carried them and will continue to do so relying upon our own strength, though surrounded by an external environment that is not entirely friendly.

Today one calls militant someone who, with full dedication, fights for the party line and in defense of the interests of the state and people, who contributes actively to the progress of the economy and culture of the nation. One calls militant someone who, wherever he lives and works, fights for progress, someone who is progressive at work, in his family life, and in society. One calls militant someone who rejects those old mentalities that pull you back, and someone who is irrevocably opposed to the influences of the bourgeois-revisionist world.

It is this militant, fighting, and revolutionary spirit that our enemies strive to sap and extinguish. They hope for the bourgeois liberalization of our life, of the party and the people's power, of the class war, of ideology, and of our policies. Liberalism is one of the chief weapons of the strategy of imperialism and revisionism to undermine and overthrow socialism.

The task of the party is not only to make Communists, cadres, and all the working people aware of the great danger posed by liberalism, but to strive to strengthen their militant spirit against every passive and indifferent attitude toward alien manifestations and to turn them into indomitable warriors against every ideological pressure that comes from abroad.

It is not only manifesations of liberalism, but narrow sectarian judgments and attitudes that damage the cause of socialism. Sectarianism is harmful as a concept, since it holds fast to things gone by; it does not see changes and transformations that are taking place, changes in material conditions and in social conditions, especially in the spiritual life of society. Unable to understand the dialectic of life, it falls into conservatism and dogmatism.

The roots of sectarianism are closely tied to the markedly petit bourgeois aspects of our country in the not so distant past. And it is well known that in contrast to the true proletarian, the petit bourgeois has tendencies toward sectarian judgments and activities. It does not consider the ideological struggle as persistent educative and prophylactic labor, a complex process involving people's reeducation and their attraction to the cause of socialism. Sectarian viewpoints create coldness and dissatisfaction among people -- strains and burdens alien to Marxist-Leninist principles that damage the ties between the people and the party. Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed that "the party should fight on both flanks, both against opportunism and sectarianism." He considered this struggle very important for the successful construction of socialism and the maintenance of the unity and cohesion of our people and nation.

Signs of sectarianism and of a petit bourgeois spirit usually feed off the growing pains and contradictions which arise in the course of our inexorable march forward on the road of socialism. Sectarian attitudes prevent you from seeing in their true reality, with revolutionary optimism, those tremendous and dynamic developments that are taking place every day in our life, seeing them in their true magnificence and beauty, but also with the growing pains that accompany them. The sectarian and the petit bourgeois are disgusted by some negative signs still present in our life. With their complaints and laments, they rush to hasty attitudes and actions and surrender when faced by difficulties. But it is our duty to confront all the problems that life presents and all its problems and contradictions. Let us confront them with courage and unshakable faith, because they can be solved and overcome. Let us confront them, not only defending ourselves, but attacking and counterattacking with our revolutionary militancy, enlightened by our Marxist-Leninist theory and relying powerfully upon the great superiorities and vitalities of our socialist order.

An important task for the ideological activity of the party is the struggle against bureaucratism. Our party has the great merit of having correctly assessed the danger of bureaucratism and having waged a determined struggle against every sign of it. It has not allowed our apparatus to become bureaucratized and rusty, to become afflicted with sclerosis and lose touch with the masses, as has happened in former socialist countries. The great plan for revolutionizing the entire life of the country has served to reinforce the ties of the party and the people's power with the masses, and to preserve and strengthen the democratic and popular character of our social order.

Yet the struggle against bureaucratism is a long one, because bureaucratism has deep roots. Bureaucratism ties itself to the existence of the state and its administration,

to the cultural level of the masses, and to old traditions that are not easily done away with, and so forth. It must always be borne in mind that particular aspects of bureaucratism emerge and become perilous at certain stages and phases of the development of society.

The party has always pointed out that the initiative and revolutionary zeal of the masses, which has always been on the increase, and the swift pace of the development of the country must be matched by better organization and management in the work of the organs and organizations of the party, the state, and the economy. This is essential for the efficient and punctual solution of problems that life presents.

The fault of the bureaucrat is that he is not easily weaned from old habits and remains a slave to methods and styles which have been outmoded and practices whose value is exhausted. This narrow thinking prevents him from understanding new situations as they arise, coping with them fast, and acting with enterprise. Besides, the bureaucrat keeps out of trouble, has no desire for the peace to be disturbed and for him to be burdened with work. This is the cause of those bureaucratic delays that are noticeable on not a few occasions in the work of various administrative offices and the cause of the lack of initiative and courage to solve problems.

Bureaucratic thinking and practice not only threaten the democratic and popular character of our organs, apparatus, and administration, but also harm the people who work in them. They cultivate a desk-bound mentality and bigheadedness, a sense of superiority over other people that stems from the idea that your post, grade, and rank in the personnel system [nomenklature] gives you authority and respect. But the party has always fought to ensure that our administrative workers are marked by their modesty, considering themselves always the servants of the people and not in command over them, always realizing that they work not to put themselves into the limelight, but to serve the party and the people. True authority is that gained through work, knowledge, culture, and service to the nation.

Our cadres are political persons who live among the masses, know their problems well, and listen to what they say. This is not a personal question, but a large party issue that concerns the implementation of the line of the masses and is also the main way through which bureaucratism can be fought and defeated. On no account can the Marxist-Leninist principle of the decisive role of the masses be transformed into a generalized abstract slogan. One must talk to the masses in a sociable and friendly fashion, both when in large companies and in smaller circles -- and not only in setting forth duties and demanding their performance, but also when talking about politics and culture, large and small problems, and when answering the various questions that people have. Such communication is very valuable because it makes it possible to get to know the state of affairs among the masses and their thoughts and desires.

One of the principal characteristics of our party, ever since the time of the National Liberation War, has been its communication with the people, its consultations with them, and its reliance upon the knowledge of the masses about everything. When Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered his historic speech at the Moscow conference in November 1960, in which he openly unmasked Soviet revisionism and declared it to the world, he had standing behind him not only Communists, but the entire Albanian people. The party had discussed the question of Khrushchevite treachery beforehand with workers, peasants, and intellectuals. It had consulted the thinking of the masses about everything, about all the activity of the Soviet revisionists, the theses they were advancing, and the anti-Marxist viewpoints they were expressing. The people unreservedly supported the party and Comrade Enver.

This is what the party did in other instances too, whenever there was a difficulty or something missing, whenever a sacrifice was called for, or when night somehow had

to be turned to day. We have always borne this tradition in mind and carried it on. People should always be talked to openly, whether about their complaints or about difficulties and shortcomings. We have no reason to avoid problems that emerge, of whatever kind they may be. They can be confronted if their causes are explained and the road to their solution pointed out.

It must be properly understood that the better informed the masses are about situations and difficulties that emerge and the tasks that lie ahead of them, the more conscious they become of the appropriate role they must play. Regular, systematic, and frank information about everything that happens in the nation's life increases the creative initiative and the active participation of the masses in the government of the country and expands our socialist democracy. This is an important duty for all the organs of the party and the state and for the mass organizations, who must perform their duties better through the use of the many means that exist. Every bureaucratic hesitation and tendency toward secretive work must be courageously uprooted.

2. Education, Culture, and Science -- Powerful Weapons in the Education of the People and the Development of the Nation [subhead]

Now let us dwell on some problems of education, culture, and science. As in other areas of our life, great successes have been attained in these fields too.

Already, a complete educational system has been created and consolidated, with all the necessary levels and categories of schools. The party directive on the revolutionizing of schools, placing them on a Marxist-Leninist ideological foundation, linking learning to productive labor and to physical and military education, and refining the whole complex of the forms and methods of education and teaching, has now, in general, been carried out with success. This process has been reflected and crystallized in all the educational structures, in teaching syllabi and curriculums, in school textbooks, in teaching methods, and so forth. For years 7-year schooling has been compulsory for all the country's children. Secondary schooling is assuming an increasingly mass character. Our country trains in its own schools all the high-level specialists it requires in all disciplines.

In the future, too, the expansion of education at all levels will continue. In particular, secondary education will experience faster expansion and development. The need has now arisen for a more harmonious development of the different kinds of secondary education, especially in the countryside, to avoid excessive specialization which, were it to continue, would endanger the assured supply of native-born specialists and cadres for country regions and would adversely affect the overcoming of differences in cultural development between the town and the countryside. So, alongside agricultural secondary schools, we may further extend the network of non-specialist secondary schools.

The development of our socialist production now involves every job requiring special qualifications, and this will increasingly be the case in the future. The need for qualified technical and professional management for production is always increasing. So ways must be studied to provide technical knowledge with the necessary theoretical background, but also, simultaneously, advanced applied skills.

In recent years a scheme for training and post university specialization has been created, both full time and on a day-release basis. Assuming the shape of regular schooling, this new scheme will be developed and consolidated. Here work of a special quality is required. It would be superfluous and wasteful to repeat knowledge already acquired at college. Graduate students require the latest knowledge in order to acquaint themselves with the latest achievements of science and technology, new methods and techniques, and up-to-date literature.

Alongside the extension and completion of the education system, the most acute and urgent task facing our schools is improving the quality of the whole learning and educational process, raising it to the level demanded by the times. This task was forcefully set out at the eighth party congress and has begun to be put into action. This task is dictated by the situation and conditions under which we live, by the development prospects of the country, and by progress in the economy, culture, technology, and science.

Now the development of education has made it possible for greater stress to be placed upon quality. Progress in this direction has been made and there is plenty of good experience. Nonetheless, our schools must give our pupils and students up-to-date knowledge, well mastered and consolidated, and must give them a healthy theoretical profile and, at the same time, the habit of applied work. This can be achieved by cultivating in them a lasting passion for reading and study; by developing their independent and creative thinking, their spirit of inquiry, their capacity for scientific reasoning, their logical thinking, their lively practical spirit, and their technical and scientific intuition; and by combating mechanical and passive learning.

High quality cannot be attained without increasing demands upon pupils and teachers and without instituting organized and rigorous control over the acquisition of knowledge. It cannot be attained without combating tendencies among some pupils and students to find easy ways out or with liberal concessions on the part of some teachers and educators. Our schools cannot be subjected to pressures and various interventions in search of undeserved passing grades. In this instance, the whole of healthy public opinion, especially the party and mass organizations, must help the schools without fail.

More work must be done to discover, encourage, and train new talents, in whom society has a major interest. In school as in life, leveling out individuality is harmful. By their nature people are not the same, do not proceed at the same pace, and have different talents and interests. There is no reason why schools should equalize them all. Their task is to work on a scientific and educational basis, with a graded system of projects and tasks, often even individually tailored, to pave the way for young talents and to cultivate them.

In the spirit of the party's orientation, our schools are working toward an intensive scientific-pedagogical modernization of teaching. They are experimenting successfully with an up-to-date mathematics program. They are aiming to improve the teaching of the mother tongue on the basis of linguistic principles and modern teaching methods, as well as on the literary standards of the modern Albanian language. Changes of this sort are also being put through in the teaching of other school subjects. But there are still discrepancies and instances of backwardness here. For example, the level of teaching of foreign languages, to which considerable amounts of time are devoted in the timetables and curriculums, is unsatisfactory. The Ministry of Education and Culture must study this problem closely and take appropriate measures to overcome this state of affairs as quickly as possible.

The modern age, and especially the rapid development of education, sets new, very important tasks before the great army of teachers and educators. The increasing amounts of information and knowledge which must be transmitted to pupils and students demand from teachers a broader and more substantial cultural, scientific, and educational background which must be constantly expanded. Teachers and educators should distinguish themselves through their desire for study in order to broaden their professional and cultural horizons and to keep themselves abreast of the achievements and thinking of the age. This is necessary not merely for them as individuals, but for the entire work of the school. This is also the road of the struggle against low expectations and contentment with little, against acquiescence in mediocrity and

incompetence, and against a spirit of sloth and lassitude. So the qualification of teachers and educators is a matter of great importance which cannot be left to occur spontaneously. First of all, there is a need to form a sound public opinion that there is no progress without training. There is also the need for a broad and efficient organization, to include the whole teaching and educational profession in training. Training should be continual, well-programmed, and enforced with strict discipline. However, this problem remains a weak point in the work of our educational bodies. There is a great deal of formalism in the training of our teachers and educators and spasmodic work in campaigns.

The general improvement in the quality of the teaching and educative process is closely tied to its management at all levels. A vigorous struggle must be waged against hasty and improvised answers to school problems, and especially against the mechanical extension of administrative ways and means into school management, where there is a predominance of bureaucratic instructions and demands, and unnecessary and superfluous meetings, which rob teachers of a great deal of useful time. It must be fully realized that these things do great harm to the work of a school and are quite out of character with the teaching and educative process and with the lively and creative nature of the work of teachers and educators.

In struggling to improve the quality of schools and raise the level of education, the party will, as always, pay particular attention to problems of the communist education of the young generation, who study at the schools through which all the future working people of our society pass. Schools and teachers must cope better and in a more professional way with the many and complex problems of education, with the aim of shaping and producing educated, cultured, and civilized people -- people with scientific and technical knowledge, and with a sound revolutionary and civic profile. This task is well and properly performed when fruitful cooperation is created between school, family, and society. We all have the duty of caring for the young generation, and so we must all have unified opinions about their education.

Literature and art play major and irreplaceable roles in the education of our people, in their ideological and cultural upbringing, and in enriching and enhancing their spiritual world. In the past these have taken strides forward, become deeply involved with the masses, and spread their influence widely. Artistic creativity has been healthy. It has been guided by communist ideals, distinguished for its lofty party spirit, and pervaded by democratic and popular principles. We have had a series of valuable works, that have made fresh contributions to the growth and progress of our socialist culture.

Artistic productivity and cultural activities have spread widely. There is no aspect or genre of art which is not cultivated. The number of creative people who live and work in every district of the country, including the smallest communities, has increased substantially under the care of the party and the people's power. The necessary conditions for fruitful work have been created for these people.

What is now demanded more strongly from literature and art is increased quality, greater profundity of content, and refinement of artistic form. The cultural level of the masses and their tasks have risen greatly. They are demanding ever better works from their writers and artists, works that powerfully affect their thoughts and feelings.

It is well known that only art of high quality can find a place in people's hearts, convey its ideas to the masses, and be transformed into a weapon for the construction of a new life. Only such an art can express the true spirit and aspirations of the people and can become the vehicle of the high ideals of the age.

The party has rightly considered writers and artists its active helpers. This title can only be deserved and this mission fulfilled by militant, beautiful, and powerful works. But in some creative circles there exists a tendency to be satisfied merely with a high quantity of output and artistic activity and with an average level of creativity. Of course, widespread artistic activity must inevitably include average, and even poor, works. But the trouble comes when you acquiesce in this and, even more, when the value of these works is artificially exaggerated. This leads to apathy in the level of artistic values and creative individuality, to low expectations and debased tastes.

The party does not and cannot in any way leave the development of artistic creativity to spontaneity. The party helps the creative artist not to be content with mediocrity and unsatisfactory quality, to strive to uncover the reasons for these faults, and to struggle to overcome them. The main factor here is an increase in demands upon oneself and, at the same time, a tangible increase in the demands of creative circles, publishing houses and institutions, and the public opinion of readers upon creative artists. These increased expectations must be accompanied by broader activity for a deeper ideological substance and a Marxist-Leninist aesthetic among working people in literature and art, a deeper knowledge of life on their part, and better professional training for them.

High quality is attained by creative people who have broad interests and great enthusiasms. What must be apparent and expressed in each work is philosophical thought and a message. Without this, works become ordinary, and form and style cannot redeem them.

Great art is created by those artists who fight for great ideals and who know and understand the aspirations and wishes of the people, their feelings, character, and virtues. The life of the people can be correctly and realistically reflected by one who is wholly involved in it, who takes active part in daily struggles, and who plays his part as a militant activist in society, not by someone who watches from the sidelines.

It is up to publishing houses, editorial boards and organs of the press, cultural and artistic institutions, the radio and television and cinema, and so forth to exert a major influence to improve the quality of literature and the arts. They must be more selective in their work so as to offer the reader and viewer truly worthy creations. The requirements laid at the door of artistic creativity concern these institutions and bodies to no lesser extent. What kind of creativity we will appreciate, enjoy, and encourage depends to a large degree on their activity, on their deep professional and principled work, and especially on their criticism. And so let them not submit to any kind of pressure: let them put the interest of art before sentimentalism and other things which threaten it.

A heavy burden lies on the shoulders of the League of Writers and Artists, which must concentrate more on the analysis of artistic phenomena, publicize ideoartistic problems that emerge, and work to create a healthy atmosphere for discussion and creative debate.

Problems of art, literature, and culture in general require particular attention and a greater commitment on the part of party committees and state bodies. The sphere of culture has become much broader and very complex. Today our country has a wide network of cultural institutions covering all districts, with theaters and cinemas, houses and centers of culture, museums and art galleries, different musical ensembles, and so forth, which carry out extensive and varied cultural, artistic, and educational activity.

Interest among the masses in this activity is continually rising. Therefore, party committees, state organs, and the directors of these institutions themselves must evaluate their activity correctly and competently organize and direct it. They must think more and work more for their activity to assume a mass character, and they must work toward quality and efficiency and toward a total commitment from their creative and performing participants, both professional and amateur. Every district now has the opportunity to stimulate its own cultural life, in towns and villages, just as there is also the possibility for artistic and cultural events to move around more among the districts. However, we must guard ourselves from the mania for grandiose events and the desire for large ensembles, choruses, orchestras, sensational tours, and from tendencies toward lavish expenditure on scenery and costumes and so forth. We now have plenty of opportunities to organize fine and varied cultural activities everywhere, with reasonable expenditures and use of resources.

Particular care must also be shown for the physical strengthening of our people, especially the young generation. Existing opportunities for raising the general level of physical culture everywhere, in schools, military units, workplaces, and villages, must be better exploited. This will also form a better and more healthy basis for the development of sports and for improving the quality of physical activity. It is a current task for the party committees and state organs to devote proper attention to the organization and management of the physical culture and sports movement, in both its quality and its mass character, and to strive to create a healthy atmosphere for the development and growth of sports, eliminating every symptom of a harmful fan mentality.

It is the duty of the Ministry of Education and Culture to organize and manage all these matters with professional thinking and clear planning. The ministry should work more to train and qualify workers in the cultural field and for the progress and efficiency of cultural-artistic institutions.

The press, radio, and television are powerful weapons in the hands of the party for propagandizing its line and for the education and mobilization of working people. As such, they are also faced with major duties. They are required to provide the masses with as wide and full a range as possible of daily information on political, economic, cultural, domestic, and foreign matters. Newspapers, magazines, the radio, and television must explain and demonstrate better the directives and orientations of the party. As tribunes of the voice of the masses, let them broadly reflect the masses' thinking and experience.

Despite the achievements noted, it is necessary for these organs to struggle more persistently against a superficial treatment of problems and phenomena, against empty phrases and a lack of enterprise in depicting events. Editors and journalists should make a greater effort to raise their ideological and professional levels and increase the demands they make upon themselves and their colleagues.

Our new science has become a powerful support to the entire economic and social development of the country. Through the care of the party, a large number of study and research institutions have been built, covering almost all branches of the economy, technology, and culture. The greatest success has been that we now solve all the problems set before the development of the country through our own scientific resources. This testifies to the creation of a new asset added to our fatherland, to the great progress people have achieved within an extremely short time, and to the broad horizons the socialist order opens.

Under the present conditions of socialist construction and of the development of the technical-scientific revolution -- when the agenda includes the issues of increasing the social productivity of labor, dynamically developing productive forces, and

increasing economic efficiency -- a great task before our people is to master the natural and technical sciences, learn well the objective laws of economic development and the achievements of contemporary technical development, and work to put these at the service of the country.

Today society needs people to master their profession in depth, to be enthusiastic about the special field they have chosen, and to be entirely capable in their area of activity. It is the task of the party, of our schools, of the propaganda media, and of the whole weight of scientific and public opinion correctly and properly to appreciate and increase the authority of the applied sciences and their contribution to the construction of the country.

The problem is to create the necessary conditions and to encourage young people to aspire to become machine builders, planners and constructors of great projects, geologists, and plant and livestock breeders. These fields and specializations, which must become predominant, must also be given the appropriate advantages and priorities, the necessary moral and material support, and strong stimulation and support.

We would like to have real theoretical studies and to make new discoveries in the natural sciences and contemporary technology. But for us the basic issue is the study, acquisition, and application of the many discoveries which have been made in the world. The application of scientific achievements in the field of expertise and technology is not a simple mechanical process of transfer, but is truly creative work. It requires imagination, strong logic, and professional ability. It is no simple matter, but a truly scientific task, to design and build hydroelectric power stations, railroads, and ports, to open mines and enrich and smelt minerals, to increase the reproductive capacities of plants and livestock, to construct and apply new technologies, and to devise and implement efficient ways of organizing and managing the economy. The aim of our efforts is that technical and technological solutions should rely upon the technical and material base we possess, our own raw materials, and as few imports as possible.

The problems which emerge in different fields of the economy are complicated and interdependent. This makes it necessary that scientific research itself must be more complex and increasingly of a more interdisciplinary character, combining the different fields and methods of the technical and natural sciences and economics. The deeper the specialization and the broader the scientific research, the more necessary becomes cooperation and coordination between the different branches of science. Today scientific results are no longer the result of the work of individual people, however brilliant and dedicated they may be, but the work of whole scientific collectives.

In our time science is extremely closely tied to production and has transformed itself into a direct force of production. This means that the value of every science is measured by its usefulness to production in increasing its efficiency, easing human labor, and raising its productivity. Just as efficiency, discipline, and work with high productivity is demanded everywhere, so are these things required all the more from workers in science.

Our socialist reality, the new socialist relationships that have been created, and the great prospects now set before the country open wide fields for work and study in the social sciences too. They play an increasing role in communist education and in solving problems of ideas that society comes across. But the time has come for work of a publicizing and synthesizing nature -- work in which important scientific conclusions are prominent and in which mere avoiding the description, still noticed in many studies, is avoided.

Claims made for such sciences as history, linguistics, ethnography, and folklore are even greater, since these fields have been cultivated over a long period and have a rich tradition. They must illuminate even better the history of the people and their patriotic and revolutionary traditions; they defend and affirm our national identity and bear witness to the people's struggle for freedom, independence, culture, and social progress.

The precedence given today to the technical and natural sciences does not in any way reduce the importance of or eliminate the part played by the social sciences, particularly economics, philosophy, sociology, jurisprudence, teacher training, and so forth, which are closely tied to important contemporary problems of socialist construction and ideological struggle. These sciences must be ever more closely tied to contemporary reality, because this is also the battlefield of our people. They need interpretations of contemporary reality. They seek the help of science in solving new questions that life produces. Our society needs experienced advanced students who know how to observe the phenomena of life, to grasp the changes it brings and problems as they emerge. The party expects students of the social sciences to produce works of high ideoscientific standard, who will spread the original experience of the revolution and socialist construction in Albania and develop and carry forward her Marxist-Leninist thinking.

Increased demands placed on scientific work and its achievements ensure lively and fruitful activity. Science and its development require true scientific debate as well as a struggle against complacency, sloth, and monopolizing tendencies, against the formalism which makes ends in themselves out of projects for academic degrees, and against hesitation in attracting young people to scientific activity and bringing them forward.

Institutions of research and study should become more advanced centers of technical and scientific thinking, bodies of consultation for the broad mass of specialists in production, and disseminators of the knowledge of the age. It is their duty to instigate and encourage creative and innovative thinking, establishing and directing as wide a circle of collaborators as possible.

Science, because of the dimensions it has assumed and the role it plays, also requires better qualified management from the bodies entrusted with this task. More initiative and thought on the orientation and development of the sciences must be demanded of the Academy of Sciences, just as better planning, a clearer definition of priorities, and more effective organization and coordination of manpower and resources is required of the Committee for Science and Technology. The university and the colleges should involve themselves more seriously in theoretical studies concerning teaching and applied studies in the service of production. The ministries responsible for the many institutes and centers of science should guide these institutes correctly in their subjects of study and take care not to transform them into administrative apparatus, but to appreciate them and consider them a powerful support for the smooth management of their sector's work.

IV. [Roman four] The International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania [subhead]

Comrade delegates, the construction of socialism in Albania cannot be achieved in detachment from modern world developments, from events, and from the struggles being waged today in the world. So, the party and our people closely follow developing situations, draw the appropriate conclusions, and define their attitudes and responses. Today's world developments confirm once again the deep scientific analyses of Comrade Enver about our present era and its basic contradictions, about the character of imperialism and its strategy, about worldwide ideological struggle, about the general crisis of capitalism, about the worldwide revolutionary movement, and about modern revisionism.

The present stage of development demonstrates his conclusions that imperialism, as a system, is in decline and collapse, that all its contradictions have become more severe, and that revolution stands on the agenda as the only road to liberation from capitalist oppression and the imperialist yoke.

These teachings by Comrade Enver constitute a great ideological treasure for our party, a powerful aid to direct ourselves correctly toward the complicated situations in the world, to defend to the last the principled standpoints that answer to the demands of the defense of the freedom and independence of our fatherland and our socialist victories, and to crown with success our internationalist duty to always stand shoulder to shoulder with the world proletariat and all forces that fight for social and national liberation and for the progress of mankind.

1. Evils and Dangers Come to the Peoples From the Capitalist System and Imperialist Policy [subhead]

Today we live in a complicated and turbulent world, a world full of major conflicts and problems where threats to the freedom and independence of the peoples have increased, where capitalist-imperialist oppression and exploitation have been extended and intensified, where the danger of war has increased even further.

The source of all the evil from which today's world suffers and of all the dangers that threaten the peoples is the capitalist system and the policy of imperialism, the aggressive course of the two superpowers. Eroded by many contradictions, sapped by class struggles and revolutionary struggles for liberation, and in no state to meet the demands of the age, imperialism seeks a way out through war, through oppression, plunder, intimidation, and terror. Its great thirst for hegemony and domination over the entire world and its efforts to extract maximum profits through the oppression and exploitation of the people represent the main factor leading to the destabilization of international relations, to the outbreak of various conflicts, and to increasing insecurity.

These tendencies have become much stronger as a result of the dire economic crisis from which the capitalist world has suffered for a long time. The whole bourgeois and revisionist economic system is driving down a dead-end street, and there is no way of rescuing it and putting it on its feet again. Temporary improvements are not a sign of a cure, but symptoms of its chronic sickness. Measures taken to resolve the crisis have not changed and cannot change the spontaneous course of capitalist economic processes. Consumption, especially of a parasitic kind, exceeds production. Budget deficits, reductions in investments, and rising debts continue. Rising prices neutralize and surpass wage increases for the working people. Prices, credit rates, and currency rates fluctuate to such an extent that now no control can stabilize them.

Another factor in the destabilization of the world economy and in its crises is the policy of enclosed economic blocs and superprotectionism, as pursued by the major industrialized countries. The situation has become particularly severe for those countries which have integrated themselves politically and economically with the great imperialist powers and have opened their doors to multinational companies and other neocolonialist organizations. International bodies exist, such as the IMF and the World Development Bank and others of this kind, that in practice dictate to many countries, down to the smallest details, the lines of the economic and financial policy that they should follow, the levels of production and consumption that must be set, which branches of the economy they must develop, and which they must sacrifice.

Now the major countries integrated into such supranational organizations as the EEC and CEMA cannot escape the rule and diktat of the most powerful states. The economic independence of these countries continues to be increasingly limited, making the oppression of the masses on the part of national monopolies and so-called multinational industries even more savage.

The economic crisis has greatly exacerbated the conflict between the major imperialist powers and groups, the United States of America, Japan, the EEC, and CEMA. A harsh struggle is being waged among them, involving protectionist measures, banking interests, currency rates, markets, and so forth.

Debts have now become one of the most acute and alarming questions in international life. Now they constitute a principal factor in the convulsions in economic and political relations in the modern world. Many states are on the brink of bankruptcy, and there are no prospects in sight for a solution to the dire situation.

Debts today are a direct consequence of neocolonialism and the total domination of multinational companies. They have been born of the latest strategy of imperialism to hold in its claws countries that were liberated from the colonial yoke and to subject to its domination all those that had previously escaped.

But now the burden of debts weighs not only upon these countries, but on the creditors themselves, who see the markets for the sale of their goods shrinking and a large proportion of their industry, created wholly for export, standing idle and so creating unforeseen social and political problems.

The failure of the economic strategy for the development of imperialism, the political and structural crises connected to it, and the internal social conflicts and the exacerbation of international relations they caused, -- all this constitute a new, much more aggressive, and more irresponsible position in relation to the peoples of the world, to their freedom and independence, and to peace and security in general. Never before have the cult of military power and the philosophy of aggression been transformed into an all-encompassing ideology, into a concrete policy in foreign relations, as they have been in the major modern imperialist states. Never before has mankind been threatened with extermination on such a scale as it is today by the nuclear war with which the superpowers are threatening the world.

If we examine the domestic and foreign policies of the United States of America and the Soviet Union today, we see that they are characterized by an emphasis on military aspects and on the creation of a political and ideological concept according to which domestic problems can be solved by militarization, and problems of international relations with the aid of military violence. This concept, or rather strategy, has emerged more clearly and become more dominant in the United States since the coming to power of Reagan, who is the representative of the great armaments industries, and in the Soviet Union with the coming of the new leadership, which represents the viewpoint and special interests of the Soviet military caste. The truth is that in the United States and the Soviet Union, the economy, politics, and ideology are now completely subordinated to plans for general war and local wars.

American imperialism constitutes the largest and most political, economic, and military power of our times; the main protector of the bourgeois system; and the center of international reaction. It is the most savage enemy of the revolution, of socialism, and of communism. The violation of the sovereign rights of peoples, unbridled aggression and brutality, the trampling underfoot of standards and principles of international law, and indifference to public opinion constitute the basic features of its foreign policy. During the Reagan administration, its adventurism has known no bounds.

The unprecedented increase of the military budget in recent years, the modernization of the arsenal of strategic nuclear weapons, the strengthening of NATO and other economic-military blocs, the deployment of missiles in Western Europe, the expansion of its bases and military presence in all oceans and continents, and the aim to extend this presence even to space -- all these are expressions of an increasingly militaristic policy and its efforts to impose American hegemony throughout the world.

The expansion of military bases has been accompanied by the export of capital, debts of billions, high interest rates, and the elevation of the dollar almost to the position of an exclusive currency for international transactions. American economic relations with foreign countries have been transformed in practice into a means for the despoliation and exploitation of the people and of different sovereign countries to achieve their economic and political enslavement.

The United States of America is pursuing a policy which aims openly at increasing international tension and especially at inciting regional conflicts between various countries. The United States seeks to profit from the fact that the combatant countries and those under threat turn to the United States for weapons, credit, and political support and in the end become dependent.

The military aggression against Grenada, the open intervention of marines in the Middle East, the organization of coups d'etat and terrorist gangs in different countries, the economic blockades against and military interventions in Libya, Nicaragua, and elsewhere -- all bear witness to the great danger posed by American policy to peace and to the freedom of the people.

This policy of the United States of America can only lead to the worsening of conflict with its partners, too. Upon these latter there is now not only a demand for cooperation in the realization of American expansionist plans, but for greater subjection to the new political, economic, and military strategy of Washington.

The hegemonistic course of the Soviet social-imperialists has also become more decided. Soviet foreign policy is assuming an ever more markedly aggressive and bellicose direction, as expressed by the strengthening of the military machine and the use of force to fulfill its own expansionist ambitions. Like the American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, have emerged openly with an international platform that embodies their ambitions and pretensions to dominance and hegemony on a world scale.

Reagan's policy helps them justify their militarization of the economy to domestic public opinion and, at the same time, allows them to impose upon their allies the expansion of the Soviet military presence in their countries. The Soviet social-imperialists, who aim at the domination of the world, cannot accept any disruption of equilibrium with America, all the more since the Americans, too, have always aimed at the achievement of military superiority over everybody else. Therefore, the Soviet Union has also intensively expanded its war industries, to the detriment of civilian industries and the living standard of the people. Moreover, Soviet policy has pursued military occupation abroad, as in Afghanistan, a harbinger of more expansion in this area. The Soviet Union has also become a major dealer in arms, in competition with the United States, which it resembles to a hair in its incitement of conflicts and in creating a threatening atmosphere in the world.

Soviet-American confrontation today constitutes one of the strongest expressions of imperialist conflict. It is transforming the world into a battlefield in which each of the superpowers strives with all the might it possesses to secure political hegemony and economic domination on every continent. There is not a country which is not now to some extent threatened by this confrontation; there is no people whose freedom, independence, and sovereignty it does not imperil. Few are those lines of modern

international relations which are not marked by signs of this confrontation and do not suffer from its consequences. It is not only the cause of the majority of the tensions and conflicts that exist in the world today, but also the principal factor that endangers peace and general security.

The peoples cannot and must not allow their countries to be transformed either into the objects of this rivalry or into the battlefields of the conflicts between the two superpowers.

The interest of the freedom and independence of the people, the elimination of war and the ensuring of peace, and the realization of revolutionary democratic ideals demand from everybody continual, clear-cut, and determined opposition to imperialism, the exposure of the aggressive policies of the superpowers and their plans for enslavement.

The experience of history has shown, and the practice of our era confirms, that both a retreat in the face of imperialist pressure and the illusion of the possibility of correcting their policies have brought great harm to the freedom and sovereignty of the people and to international security.

2. The Contradictions of Capitalist Society Lead Straight to Revolution and Socialism [subhead]

Today's capitalism, like that of earlier times, is in no position to cure any of its ills. The capitalist method of production and distribution, the thirst for maximal profits, and the ideology of exploiting the working man to the limit have led to the further degradation of bourgeois society and its political and social institutions and to an even greater decline in human relations.

The technical-scientific revolution which characterizes the present day and which has led to a great increase in production and material goods, not only exerts no influence on reconciling the internal contradictions of capitalism, but deepens and exacerbates them further. New, serious, degrading, and degenerative phenomena have emerged, leading to the alienation of man, his nature, and his activity.

There has always been permanent unemployment in capitalist countries to some degree or other. But today it embraces a considerable proportion of the workforce and has reached a figure comparable only with the periods of the worst economic crises. Now there are tens and hundreds of thousands of people who are born and who die without knowing what work is. Millions of others live on charity and on the crumbs that remain after the exploitation of their comrades.

A whole new social stratum has been created from the so-called dregs of society, who join the world of crime, drug addicts, the crippled, and prostitution, etc. This is the spawn of the capitalist system, and its growing dimensions promote the further degeneration of society.

Petty crime has spread to include every social activity in its net. Mafia-type gangsterism has now penetrated deeply into the financial and state apparatus, into political parties and every institution that has the fate of the country in its hands. Organized terror has become an additional mechanism to oppress and plunder people, to remove them from the daily struggle for democratic rights, and to sidetrack their legitimate revulsion at the capitalist system.

The bourgeoisie is purposely spreading a spirit of fatalism toward these phenomena and of impotence to face up to and defeat them. The bourgeoisie seeks to create a mood of fear and insecurity among the working masses, to direct their hatred and their

struggle not against the social system which is responsible for them, but against its victims. These ills are not a consequence of civilization, as the bourgeoisie pretend, but a weapon used by the bourgeoisie to obstruct and undermine civilization.

The gulf between the working class and the bourgeoisie has deepened and is constantly growing ever deeper, and the contradictions between labor and capital have been sharper. Oppression and capitalist exploitation have expanded to envelop the overwhelming majority of the population. The attempts of the bourgeoisie to cast the entire burden of the economic crisis upon the working people have deepened the despair of working people. All these things have led to an increase in the revolt of the working masses in all capitalist countries. There has been an increase in economic strikes and political demonstrations on the part of the oppressed classes and strata of society, who protest against unemployment, the rising cost of living, and inflation and who demand the preservation of jobs and the standard of living they have attained and an increase in the social resources for education, health, pensions, and so forth.

In this class battle, the working class is matured and forged. Political consciousness and its revolutionary organization grows stronger. In the course of this struggle, the working class recognizes even more clearly who its enemies are, who is blocking and sabotaging its efforts, and who is fragmenting and dividing it. It knows even better the strike-breaking role of bourgeois parties among the working class, of social democracy, of the revisionists and other opportunists, and it sees how the trade unions controlled by these parties seek to lull them to sleep, to blunt their rebellion, and to extinguish their revolutionary zeal.

But the efforts of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys are not able to keep the working class and the other working masses eternally subjected, enchained, and deceived. The objective laws of the development of human society cannot be changed by either violence or propaganda. History has entrusted the working class with the mission of becoming the gravedigger of capitalism, of leading the revolution, and of building a new socialist society. All the contradictions of capitalist society lead toward the revolution and socialism. Only the revolution can resolve these contradictions. It alone can rescue the working class and all mankind from the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation, violence and terror, war and extermination.

During its development human society has waged a major struggle to pass from the stage of savagery and fatalism to that of civilization and conscious direction, from that of violence and oppression to that of freedom and democracy. Capitalism, which has retained none of the progressive characteristics that marked its initial stages, seeks to turn back human society.

We are today witnesses to a general attack on democratic rights and individual freedoms, a true bourgeois ideological and propaganda offensive to destroy good traditions, progressive culture, and the whole of man's spiritual world, and to turn men into simple production robots.

Terrorism has become widespread in the world and is now a very disturbing phenomenon. Everybody talks about it, but in particular American imperialism and those who chant in harmony with it are talking and shouting the most.

Terrorism inspires fear, panic, insecurity, and fatalism in the broad masses of ordinary people. It has also inspired hatred and extreme revulsion. The question that must be asked is who incites and who is responsible for modern terrorism and against whom should the anger and revulsion of the peoples be directed.

As a social phenomenon, terrorism is born of the crisis and degeneration of bourgeois society and the decadence and moral collapse of an increasingly large number of people who live in misery and despair. As a political concept and activity, terrorism is the outcome of the blind despair and complete disillusion of particular individuals, who lose their sense of direction when faced with massive capitalist oppression and imperialist violence.

In the period of the serious crisis of the modern capitalist system and the increasing revolt of the masses, the bourgeoisie has an interest in identifying terrorism with the proletarian revolutionary struggle in order to create the impression that patriots, revolutionaries, and true communists, who have risen against the capitalist system, are terrorists and anarchists, people who murder and rob.

Marxist-Leninists, the true revolutionaries and communists, have never supported and never will support desperate acts of terrorism, anarchist activities, and adventures of this type, irrespective of the ideal for which they are supposedly carried out, the cloak under which they hide, or the color they are painted. National, democratic, or proletarian revolution cannot be reached by the road of terrorism. Revolutionaries cannot reconcile themselves with terrorism in theory or practice and reject with disgust the accusations laid at their door by the bourgeoisie.

The so-called war against terrorism declared by imperialism is a mask to hide the evil face of state terrorism raised to an ideology and official policy. The aim of the bourgeoisie and reaction is clear. In branding as terrorism every revolutionary struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation and every war of liberation against foreign occupation, they wish to declare every armed uprising to gain freedom and independence as unjustifiable and to grant themselves the right to use arms to suppress and crush every effort to defend national sovereignty.

The people cannot and will not accept the state terrorism of imperialism or subjugate themselves to it, just as they have never given in to the counterrevolutionary violence of the bourgeoisie. The right to rise up against oppression and social injustice, the right to take up arms for the freedom and independence of the homeland is inalienable. No ideology, policy, trick, or deceit of imperialism can suppress this right of the peoples.

The bourgeoisie, while inciting terrorism, strives to conceal the inhuman nature of its system by inaugurating a noisy campaign over so-called human rights and declaring itself the champion and defender of these rights. But of what kind of human rights can the bourgeoisie speak when at the very foundations of the social relations of the capitalist order lies the most savage and inhuman exploitation of the overwhelming majority of the population by a minority of millionaires and billionaires? Can the individual have rights in a country which has no national freedom or is dominated by colonialism or racial oppression?

Imperialism and the bourgeoisie are not interested in these rights. What interests them is how to turn problems of democracy and of the freedom of man within society into a banner in their struggle against socialism and communism, into a policy of meddling in the internal affairs of free nations so that they can be subjected and enslaved. Just as they seek to transform and exploit the struggle against terrorism for their own ends, so they manipulate the so-called struggle for the defense of human rights for these same ends.

Historically, it is the revolution that has raised and held high the flag of democratic freedoms and civic rights. The French Revolution of 1789 was the first to declare to the world that it was fighting for the freedom of the individual, and it produced its famous slogan, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." This slogan inspired a whole

series of democratic revolutions in Europe and throughout the world during the 19th century. The bourgeoisie soon separated itself from the struggle, and it was the proletariat who became the most consistent and determined in defense of the democratic freedoms and rights of man. One of the first decrees of the October Revolution and of Lenin was precisely the declaration of the rights of the workers and the exploited people. In our case, too, the first document to be approved by the first meeting of the Antifascist Council for National Liberation at Berat in October 1944 was the declaration on civic rights.

The proletariat, as the most advanced class in capitalist society, is the only class able to carry through the struggle for freedom and democratic rights. By abolishing private ownership of the means of production, ending the exploitation of man by man, and declaring publicly the principle of proletarian internationalism as the principle for the unity of the workers and the peoples, the proletarian revolution has laid the foundations of a true guarantee of democratic freedoms for individuals and for the collective. This has been proved in the practice of our country, too, where the revolution and socialism have brought the people true freedom and democracy, where the rights of the working man are guaranteed by law and in practice and his all-round emancipation assured.

The monopolist bourgeoisie, which trampled upon human rights, was helped in its struggle against the socialist system and against communist ideology by Khruschevite revisionism, which came to power after Stalin's death. By slandering Stalin and discrediting the socialist system, Khruschev and his followers enabled the bourgeoisie to use the flag of democratic freedoms as a weapon against socialism. However, it has been proved that anticommunism has never been a fertile ideology. It has not led to the extension of democracy and the emancipation of the people, but to their restriction and to fascism.

3. The Rights of the Peoples To Be Free and Independent Are Inalienable [subhead]

In our age, neocolonialist oppression and exploitation in undeveloped countries on the part of the superpowers and other developed capitalist countries have assumed unprecedented proportions.

As never before, the export of foreign monopoly capital into these zones, from which fabulous profits are extracted, has increased. The debt system has strangled many countries and has increased their dependency and the despoliation they suffer. If in the mid-fifties the developing countries were indebted to the sum of $6 billion, today the sum is more than a trillion. The sum rises as time passes, just as do the dangerous consequences these debts involve.

The economic relations imposed between developing and industrialized countries are entirely unequal. The great capitalist monopolies impose low prices for raw materials, which are usually produced by undeveloped countries, and extremely high prices for the industrial and consumer goods that are sold back. This policy aims to maintain these countries as producers of raw materials and as favorable markets for selling. The international financial and monetary system and the domination of the dollar and other so-called hard currencies, imposed and protected by world capital, greatly assist this plunder.

The capitalist monopolies and the major world financial centers have dug their claws deep into many undeveloped countries and have become not merely the real masters of their economies, but also arbiters of their political life. It is they who dictate and decide who should and should not be in power, they who overthrow and install governments, and they who provoke domestic and foreign conflicts. They use every means necessary to keep up their profits -- from corruption, violence, and the murder or purchase of political leaders to armed intervention when the need arises.

Economic despoliation and political interference in the internal affairs of these countries are also accompanied by savage ideological and cultural aggression aimed at the destruction of national identity, the crushing of any sense of human dignity, the suppression of centuries-old longings for freedom and independence, and the shattering of people's faith in their own capacities for development and progress.

The situation of the developing countries becomes ever more serious because it is there that the rivalry and the competition of the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers for zones of influence, markets, strategic positions, and military bases is most sharply felt. The many conflicts in these regions are a direct consequence of this rivalry.

The general offensive of world capitalism has led to a new exacerbation of the basic conflict of our age, that between oppressed, dependent peoples and imperialism. This conflict has found its clearest expression in the resistance and ever-increasing struggle of the people against neocolonialist domination. Today the strategy of hegemony and world domination employed by the superpowers and other stages with imperialist aspirations is opposed by the strenuous efforts of various nations and peoples to defend their freedom and independence and their national wealth, to be sovereign in their own countries, to throw off the foreign yoke, and to decide their own roads of development for themselves.

A witness to this is the broad spread and growth of the democratic liberation movements of the people, which have enveloped whole areas and regions of the world. The growing discontent and protests of the masses in such countries as Haiti, the Philippines, El Salvador, and elsewhere have led to popular revolt against reactionary regimes. The struggle of the Afghan people to drive out the Soviet invaders and overthrow the puppet regime has grown and expanded. The people of the Western Sahara have been fighting for their rights for a long time. In spite of the most exceptionally difficult conditions, the Palestinian people have determinedly pursued their armed struggle to return to their fatherland, stolen by Israel.

The neocolonial domination of the superpowers and other imperialist states in Africa becomes ever more precarious. The revolt of the African peoples against imperialist oppression and plunder and against internal reactionary forces has assumed new dimensions The people of Burkina Faso have won an important victory on the road to independence. One part of the liberation war of the African peoples is the anti-racist and anti-imperialist struggle of the Azanian and Namibian peoples. The anti-racist demonstrations and bloody clashes with the army and police of the South African white minority -- the massive protests and armed combat of these peoples -- represent a visible growth in the anti-imperialist and revolutionary movement for democratic and national rights.

Despite savage terror, the struggle of Chilean patriots and democrats against the fascist dictatorship has not paused for a single moment. The struggle in Central America has shown new developments. The Nicaraguan people, who overthrew Somoza's fascist dictatorship, now successfully confront the undeclared warfare of American imperialism and its Somozist mercenaries.

Various forces which aspire to free and independent development have been set in motion in many countries of South America, in Africa, and in Asia against the system of neocolonialist relationships that the imperialist powers have imposed upon them and that have brought them to the brink of bankruptcy. They are struggling to change international economic relations and to free themselves from neocolonialist despoliation, from the shackles of debt, from unequal exchange, from the dictation and impositions of the great industrialized powers. They seek to rescue themselves from this dire situation and to smash the economic and political fetters with which the great powers are attempting to keep them enchained.

Imperialists, capitalists, revisionists, and others are striving to divert this struggle onto a wrong path and to blunt the sharpness of its weapons. They attempt to spread the illusion that the situation of the people can be put right and that problems can be solved by cooperation and agreements with the oppressors and exploiters, or they create the defeatist spirit of thinking that developing peoples supposedly are not in a position to progress independently and that their dependency upon imperialism is inevitable.

But the people cannot be deceived by the propaganda and maneuvers of imperialism, nor can they be cowed by its threats. They are aware that only through struggle, courage, and sacrifice will they escape the neocolonialist and imperialist yoke. Imperialism still seems powerful. It has weapons, money, and powerful means for oppression and domination. But it is eroded and rotten with its contradictions and incurable wounds. The destinies of the people and of mankind do not rest in its hands. The liberation struggle of the people is an objective process that no force in the world can prevent. It represents one of the most basic tendencies in modern world development and one of its prime moving forces.

The right of the people to be free and independent is undeniable. It was born together with mankind and human society and has been an invariable constant in every epoch of history. In every age, reactionary forces have striven to deny the people this right, to subjugate and dominate them. Great empires were created, whole continents were transformed into colonies. Different peoples remained enslaved for centuries on end, but the spirit of freedom and independence was never quenched. It was the empires and colonies that collapsed and vanished.

There is nothing for which the people have paid so much as freedom and independence. No human sacrifice, however great it may have been, has ever been spared to be rid of foreign invaders and rulers. Nobody can extinguish the aspirations of the people for freedom and independence, and we believe with total conviction in their fulfillment.

4. The Struggle Against Bourgeois Ideology and Modern Revisionism Is the Struggle for the Victory and Defense of the Revolution and of Marxism-Leninism [subhead]

A harsh, large-scale ideological struggle is being waged between bourgeois ideology and opportunism, on one hand, and Marxism-Leninism, on the other hand, over the present state of the world, over the processes which are developing and the problems which are emerging, with all their contradictions and possible solutions. The deeper the general crisis of capitalism plunges, the more the revolutionary and liberation movement of the people grows and the harsher this struggle becomes. Its class kernel remains as it has been. Capitalism strives to justify and preserve its own existence, to quench the revolution, and to destroy socialism. Marxism-Leninism struggles to pave the way for the revolution, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and to build the new socialist society.

As the ideology of a society in decline and collapse, which has lost sight of historical perspective and every progressive ideal, bourgeois ideology has become even more aggressive and has emphasized even more strongly its characteristics as the ideology that is an apology for capitalist exploitation and anticommunism.

It has made every effort to beautify capitalist society, to conceal its sores, and to justify oppression and exploitation. Its fundamental characteristics are the refusal to see reality, the absence of objectivity, the hoodwinking of the masses, and the manipulation of new social phenomena. Bourgeois ideology attempts to create the belief that capitalist society is irreplaceable, that its methods of production are the best and most just, that bourgeois power is the most perfect form of democracy,

and that bourgeois civilization is the highest. It considers the major ills of bourgeois society -- its economic, political, social, and spiritual crises, the unemployment and insecure lives of millions of people, racism and terrorism -- as the consequence not of capitalism's rottenness and decline, but of its development, not as inevitable accompaniments, but as temporary phenomena which the system itself can repair.

Bourgeois ideologists exalt to the heavens a kind of man who is perverted and alienated by capitalism, whose aim in life is the earning of money, who is guided in his every action by egotism and individualism, who supplants honesty with hypocrisy, humanism with cynicism.

In international relations the apologists of capitalism try to represent the imperialist oppression and exploitation of entire continents as the liberation of the people and their economic and cultural emancipation. They attempt to represent freedom and independence, independent economic development, and the sovereignty of the people as anachronistic things, obstacles to progress and civilization, and so forth. For them, "progress," "modernity," and "objective necessity" are the dependency of states and peoples upon large financial capital, monopolies, multinational companies, and so forth.

Apologies for capitalism and the so-called free world are inseparable from anticommunism. There is a major campaign being waged these days to denigrate and attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism. Under the pretext that modern capitalism is no longer that of the time of Marx and Lenin -- since it has undergone major economic, social, and political changes -- bourgeois ideologists pretend that Marxist theory is out of date and no longer applicable, that the socialist revolution of the proletariat has become unnecessary thanks to the progressive evolution of bourgeois society, and that the modern techncial-scientific revolution is creating a new supracapitalist and suprasocialist society. They purposely identify Marxism with modern revisionism and attempt to depict the crises and defeats of this latter as the crises and defeats of Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

Anticommunism has now been raised to a sophisticated ideology and strategy, with definite aims and objectives and elaborate methods and tactics. It seeks to put pressure upon communists to liberalize their thinking and attitudes and tries to shake their faith in their communist ideals, to distract them from the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to force them to lower their ideological vigilance, give up their political and ideological principles, and desert the norms of socialist society and communist ethics.

In its ideological struggle against revolutionary, democratic, and liberation movements, anticommunism attempts to cast doubt upon the future, to sow a spirit of pessimism and fatalism, and to create the sense that communists are fighting for a lost and impossible cause. It aims to create the belief that social revolutions and liberation struggles will lead to world conflagrations.

But bourgeois ideology in our days is manifest not only in rightist forms, as an open apology for capitalism and anticommunism, but also in so-called "leftist" and "critical forms," in the form of opportunism. Historically, opportunism has been and remains a manifestation of bourgeois ideology in the workers' revolutionary movement, a weapon of the bourgeoisie to undermine and sabotage it and to divert the revolt of the masses onto paths innocuous to bourgeois rule. Its essence is the advocacy of class harmony and the reconciliation of the exploited with their exploiters and oppressed peoples with their oppressors.

The most dangerous form of opportunism today is modern revisionism, which still misuses Marxist phrases and which is in power in a number of countries that call themselves socialist.

Our Party of Labor and Comrade Enver have waged a great and prolonged struggle against modern revisionism, have analyzed in depth the causes of its origin and spread, and have analyzed the counterrevolutionary class essence of the revisionist line and its practice, its process of degeneration, and its rifts.

They have argued and proved that modern revisionism is an offspring of the counterrevolutionary strategy of imperialism and have exposed and denounced the aim of modern revisionism, which is to rescue capitalism from overthrow by the revolution and to undermine socialism wherever it is built. The party and Comrade Enver have torn the mask away from the different currents of revisionism, Yugoslav, Soviet, Chinese, and Western European, and have shown that the "real," "self-managing," "democratic," "human," "pluralist" socialism, and so forth, which they preach, is nothing other than modern capitalist society reformed.

The struggle of the AWP against modern revisionism in all its variants has been and remains a struggle of historic importance. This struggle rescued the freedom and independence of the fatherland and our great socialist victories and was a contribution of great value to the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the peoples of the world.

Life is increasingly demonstrating the correctness of the struggle of our party against revisionism, the justice of its analyses, conclusions, and forecasts. Today everybody can see what Comrade Enver Hoxha was the first to see and declare to the world, that the revisionists in power would bring about the degeneration of socialism and would restore capitalism, that other revisionists would slip into the social-democratic mire, and that modern revisionism would be split into currents and groupings and turn itself into a basket of crabs.

The modern Soviet Union has already lost any socialist or revolutionary features. A series of processes are taking root there, and a series of reforms have been enacted to reconstruct the economy and manage it on a capitalist basis. The campaign now announced by Gorbachev in the Soviet Union against the backwardness and stagnation of the economy, against bureaucracy in its management, against parasitism and corruption among management cadres, against embezzlement and illicit gains is a demagogic campaign aiming to deceive and lull the Soviet people to sleep. These evils are in no way the consequence of earlier subjective mistakes, as is claimed, but are the offspring of the capitalist system as restored there. They cannot be cured either by decrees or reforms.

Already the Soviet Union has completed its transformation of the state, party, educational, and cultural superstructure, which it has adapted to the new capitalist economic base and has put entirely in the service of the bourgeoisie in power.

Values and moral standards inspired by capitalist motives have now taken the upper hand and dominate life in the Soviet Union. Bourgeois egotism and individualism have increased; the upper strata have developed into an artistocracy; and feelings of indifference and apoliticism are widespread. Running after an easy life and chance profits has become commonplace.

One of the essential aspects of Soviet revisionism is the total domination of an ideology that elevates the cult of militarism, expansionism, and superpower hegemony, an ideology which tramples on the freedom and sovereignty of the people and endangers peace and international security.

Revisionist China, similarly, is following the capitalist road. Chinese sermons and practices about a pluralist socialism from the economic, political, ideological, and social viewpoints, the revival of the private sector, the opening of doors to foreign capital and multinational companies -- all testify to the total degeneration of Chinese revisionism.

We are witnesses to the total bankruptcy of Yugoslav revisionism as an ideology and in practice. The so-called self-management system, of which Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound and all-round analysis in his distinguished work, "Yugoslav Self-Management -- A Capitalist Theory and Practice," has failed. Now even the Yugoslavs themselves are criticizing it from all sides, and many blame it for the crises and all the evils which have overtaken Yugoslavia. Its nationalities policy led to the deepening of inequalities between the peoples of the Yugoslav federation, the reawakening of old national quarrels and hostilities, and the creation of conditions to pave the way to the domination of the largest nationality.

Despite all its preaching and theorizing about nonalignment, with either the East or the West, Yugosalvia has tied itself even more tightly to both. Its dependency on foreign capital and its heavy burden of debts have forced it to accept the diktat of the imperialist great powers.

That other revisionist current, that of Eurocommunism, decayed very quickly. It is today hard to find any more or less essential distinction between so-called Eurocommunism and European social democracy. The revisionist parties in these countries have given up the idea of taking power, even by the "peaceful" parliamentary road. They openly declare, like the Italian Communist Party, that they see their role and mission in the contribution they must make to the smooth functioning of the modern bourgeois state and the improvement of bourgeois society, in efforts to extract it from its crises and difficulties, and so forth. Whether they take part directly in bourgeois governments or remain in the role of legal opposition, the revisionist parties have now become an inseparable part of the bourgeois superstructure. A typical part has been played by the French Communist Party, whose participation in the government was required by the bourgeois monopolists so that they, together with the socialists, could administer the crisis, something which could not fail to lead, as it did, to its discredit and a marked decline in its influence upon the masses.

The inclusion of Western revisionist parties in bourgeois structures and the transformation of those revisionists in power into direct representatives of the new bourgeoisie could not but deepen their divisions and splits along nationalist and bourgeois-chauvinist lines. Already there can be no question of talking about a single front of modern revision ts on an international scale or about one or more leading centers. Now the revisionists are in no state even to mount a formal show of unity. They try to focus attention more on matters that distinguish or divide them than on what brings them together and unites them.

Modern revisionism, in all its forms, like bourgeois ideology as a whole, finds itself in serious difficulties that are expressions of the crisis and decadence of the modern world capitalist and imperialist system. But this does not in the least mean that the struggle against it is now over and behind us. We must bear in mind that revisionism still exerts an influence over the broad masses of working people and continues to confuse and poison many people's minds. Its practices are still going on. It carries out extensive political and ideological activity to undermine and sabotage socialism. What is worse, views identifying revisionism with Marxism-Leninism and socialism are still widespread, and there are still people who nurture illusions and think this can lead to improvements.

In these circumstances the struggle against modern revisionism, to expose its theories and practices and to free the masses from its poisonous influence, remains a primary and most important duty for true communists and revolutionaries. Without fighting revisionism and opportunism, we cannot pave the way for the revolution and the liberation of the people nor build and defend socialism.

The AWP of Albania will continue its principled stand in the future, as it has up until now, against all tendencies of modern revisionism, for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the revolution and of socialism. It will not spare its efforts and strength to carry this struggle through until the end.

"There is no power that can divert our party from this glorious and thoroughly internationalist road of honor," Comrade Enver Hoxha said. "There is no power that can alarm or defeat it. Our party can never reconcile itself with any form of opportunism or any kind of deviation from or distortion of Marxism-Leninism."

The very fury of its enemies in rejecting Marxism-Leninism, in distorting it and declaring it a failure, overtaken by life and invalid for the modern age, constitutes the most convincing testimony and proof of Marxism-Leninism's constant life and vitality. It is embodied in the scientific doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, in the theoretical works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the reality of socialist Albania, in the values of the revolution, the socialist construction of the Soviet Union before the Khruschevites took power, in the Chinese revolution and other revolutions led by communists but which were later betrayed, and in the revolutionary experience of all true Marxist-Leninist parties and forces. It is an essential and permanent duty of consistent communists and revolutionaries to defend Marxism-Leninism from anticommunist attacks and from revisionist distortions and to struggle for its creative application and enrichment under new conditions.

It is understandable that in their struggle to further the movement the forces of revolution should encounter many obstacles and difficulties. Besides bourgeois violence, which in certain circumstances adopts extremely harsh and bloody forms, they are subjected to multiform and continual ideological and political pressure from the bourgeoisie and revisionists, as well as from pseudorevolutionary and petit bourgeois leftism, which aims to split, isolate, degrade, and liquidate Marxist-Leninist parties.

But this situation will not intimidate them or make them desert the struggle. Faithfully adhering to Marxist-Leninist teachings, and applying a revolutionary line and strategy and skillful tactics appropriate to the conditions of the country and the world situation, our sister Marxist-Leninist parties have achieved noticeable successes in their efforts to extend and deepen their links with the masses and increase their influence among them, to affirm themselves in political life, and to broaden the horizons of their revolutionary work.

In the common struggle, healthy links of internationalist solidarity and fraternal cooperation have been forged among the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces. The AWP has given and continues to give the greatest attention and care to relations with the sister parties. It has done and will do everything to strengthen fraternal and revolutionary unity among them. It has rigorously adhered to the principles of total independence and equality, solidarity, support, mutual aid, and internationalist cooperation.

The solidarity and sympathy that they hold for our party and people, the support and backing which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties, freedom-loving peoples, democratic and progressive individuals, and the many friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania give us, inspire and encourage us to advance courageously on the road of socialism and to defend the freedom and independence of the fatherland.

The whole line, the standpoints, and the struggle of the AWP are characterized by the consistent application of proletarian internationalism. The party implemented this line in the struggle for the victory of the revolution and applies it now in the socialist construction of Albania, in the defense of Marxism-Leninism, and in its principled standpoints and struggle, courageous and undaunted before imperialism and social-imperialism, modern revisionism, and international reaction. It applies this line in the decisive support the party has given to revolutionary struggles, to freedom-loving peoples and Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the world. Peoples fighting for freedom and independence, revolutionary, liberation, democratic, and antifascist forces, will always have the support of the AWP and socialist Albania and the sympathy and total solidarity of the Albanian people.

5. The Foreign Policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania -- Bearer of Revolutionary and Freedom-Loving Ideals [subhead]

The foreign policy of the party and our state and their standpoints and activities in the international arena are guided by the lofty and noble aims of our people and party for the preservation and consolidation of the freedom and independence of the fatherland, the ensuring of peaceful conditions for the socialist construction of the country, and the fulfillment of internationalist duties.

The strengthening of the international position of socialist Albania, the respect that it enjoys among the progressive peoples and nations of the world, and the increase in the number of its foreign friends and well-wishers testify to the success of this policy.

Albania's voice and attitudes on the problems, great and small, that preoccupy the whole of mankind today have always been correct and principled and have responded to the loftiest aspirations of the people to live in freedom and independence, in peace and general security. Our party and people have been on the side of those who oppose the aggressive and war-mongering policy of imperialism, against national oppression and capitalist exploitation, against colonialism and racism. They have condemned and opposed the efforts of imperialist powers and reactionary forces to interfere in the internal affairs of others, to violate and threaten the sovereign rights that belong to the people, to despoil their national wealth, and to oppress and enslave them.

Our foreign policy was born in our great struggle for the liberation of our enslaved fatherland, and its content has been deepened in the struggle and efforts to maintain the victories that have been won. This being the case, it is the bearer of freedom-loving ideals and aspirations for mutual respect in international relations, for sincere cooperation, beyond any diktat, tutelage, or imposition, among different countries.

As a socialist country, freed from the ideologies and mentalities of the feudal-bourgeois societies of the past, as a people who for centuries were enslaved, denied nationhood, torn apart, and partitioned by foreigners, we Albanians do not suffer from national hatred and jealousies, from expansionist and hegemonistic pretensions, so common not only among the great powers, but among many others; we are free of the feelings of superiority that still corrupt the mentalities of leading circles in many other countries. We want the good of all peoples and have declared to the world that no harm will come to our neighbors or to anyone else from our country. We have shown this not only in words, but in deeds.

Albania does not participate in any military bloc or any alliance which directly or indirectly could engage it in any hostile policy toward one or more countries; it does not participate in any agreement that could damage the interest of anybody else, in even the smallest degree. There is not a foreign soldier, base, or installation in

our country. No facilities have been granted for the stationing, resting, or transit of foreign armed forces in our country, either in peace or in war. We have no economic, moral, or any other kind of obligation to anyone that could oblige us to make concessions to the detriment of our own interests and the security of others.

We inherited such a consistent and principled foreign policy from Comrade Enver Hoxha. He taught us to maintain such determined revolutionary standpoints, and he instructed us to follow such a safe path in international relations. Our party will follow his teachings with courage and wisdom. It will always fight steadfastly to defend the freedom and independence of the fatherland and will work tirelessly to enhance the reputation of socialist Albania in the world.

We are aware that the world around us is not as we would want it. It is clear to us that the defusing of conflicts and enmities in international relations, the elimination of threats to the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of peoples, and averting the dangers of war do not depend on our will.

But we must do our duty and must never abandon the struggle. As Communists, we view mankind's future with optimism. We are convinced that the future belongs to freedom and not to oppression, to democracy and not to reaction, to progress and not obscurantism, to socialism and not to capitalism. This optimism and faith, which history and Marxism-Leninism gives us, makes us strong and determined to defend our victories and to stand always alongside freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples.

We know who our friends are, but we also know our enemies. We know well that there are those who do not like our socialist system and who are thinking of how to undermine Albania and turn it back to the past. We also know that there are some who deny the present historical reality, which cannot be turned back, and still dream and hope of seeing our country placed under the tutelage of foreigners and harnessed to their chariots. Many intrigues, conspiracies, and acts of perfidy and treachery have been committed against our country in the years since the liberation, but none of them has defeated it or broken it. And this has come about not only because our enemies have run up against the steel-like unity of our people and their determination to have nobody above them but themselves, but also because the party and Enver Hoxha have taught them never to yield to pressures and never to be deceived by blandishments. This has been and remains our stand.

While fighting to strengthen and consolidate the positions of our socialist fatherland abroad, our country has taken an active part in present-day international life, has expressed its views frankly and without hesitation on the political problems of the time, and has maintained correct and principled positions on the issues that preoccupy mankind. We have never considered it enough to be all right ourselves and unconcerned about what happens to others. We are aware that the international problems of today, whether local, regional, or continental, affect to a greater or lesser extent all the countries and peoples of our planet, which has now become very small. We are similarly aware that the problems of peace and war are not the prerogatives of just one or two states, however big or powerful, and cannot be solved by them alone.

Proceeding from these positions, we have always opposed the attempts of the great powers, especially the superpowers, to monopolize, arbitrate, and decide world affairs.

The peoples of the world cannot accept the ideology or policy of neoglobalism of the United States of America, which seeks to create American interests even where they do not exist and, in the name of these interests, to restrict the sovereign rights of other countries and justify its imperialist interventions. Neither can they accept the concept of special responsibilities that the Soviets attribute to themselves in order to justify their interventions and expansion.

There is a great deal of commotion about talks and contacts between the two superpowers. They are publicized as the only hope of avoiding war and saving peace. Of course, nobody can deny them the right to meet and talk about their own affairs. But what cannot be accepted or tolerated is that they should discuss the affairs of others and take decisions behind their backs. Institutionalizing meetings of the heads of the superpowers in a forum that can make decisions that are binding on others is very dangerous. In practice, this means denying the right of other countries to act freely and in a sovereign manner on their own domestic and foreign affairs. And practice, not only present-day practice, but that throughout the epoch of imperialism, has shown that the agreements made in the name of averting wars and strengthening peace, establishing order, limiting arms, and so forth have all resulted in cynical deals to divide territories and spheres of influence and to operate jointly against liberation and revolutionary movements. Ententes and detentes can change their uniforms and names, but their aims remain the same.

The arms race, especially that of the superpowers with its feverish increase in atomic and chemical weapons, continues to cause great concern to the whole of mankind. The danger posed to life on our planet by these weapons is truly great. This threat might one day become realized in a true catastrophe, for the mechanisms of this weaponry can be set in motion not only consciously, but by human error or by some failure in the technology on which the weaponry increasingly relies. Typical examples are the accidents that occurred to the American Challenger spacecraft and the Soviet atomic power station at Chernobyl.

It is this situation that has made demands for the prohibition and outlawing of nuclear weapons ever more numerous and insistent in all parts of the world. But the trouble is, in our opinion, that much hope is still placed in the will and reasonableness of the superpowers, and there is still much faith in their declarations that they too supposedly wish for disarmament and are thinking about it. Reality must be looked straight in the eye. The truth is that all these talks, meetings, conferences, proposals, and counterproposals about disarmament have never produced any results. This is demonstrated by the failure of the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in Iceland. The arms race between the superpowers spreads ever further; apart from the land and the sea, it is now even invading the heavens.

Reproaches and advice will not make the superpowers back down. Only open exposure and condemnation of the imperialist strategy of atomic war can yield results; only this can stop them hurling the world into catastrophe.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is for putting an end to the armaments race once and for all, for the total banning of atomic tests and weapons, for the dismantling and removal of American and Soviet missile bases from foreign countries. It is opposed to the militarization of space and all other projects that increase the dangers of atomic war and other wars.

In any country, security is a task that cannot be neglected. But it cannot be achieved either through vacuous meetings such as the Helsinki Conference, by sheltering under the atomic umbrellas of the superpowers, by turning your national territory into bases for the superpowers' missiles, or by filling it with foreign soldiers and weapons. These roads lead, and indeed have already led, to the expansion of the arms race and further subjugation to the superpowers.

Alliances and friendships between states are, of course, matters for the states concerned to decide, just as collective security cannot be denied to those who want it. But what is unacceptable is when these alliances and friendships are directed against others and when commitments entered upon within them threaten the interests and security of other countries.

It is for this reason that we oppose NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which have no sort of defensive character, but are political and military instruments of the United States and the Soviet Union for the realization of their hegemonistic and expansionist aims and are weapons for pressure and aggression against others.

The dissolution of these alliances is the fundamental condition for the elimination of divisions and splits in Europe and for the reduction of tension not only on our continent, but throughout the world. Their liquidation will create precisely that spirit of trust and understanding which is lacking in order to establish fruitful and equal collaboration among the peoples of Europe.

It has been shown in practice that blocs lead to an increasing subjection of their members to their leaders. The illusion that joining a bloc strengthens defense and ensures independence costs a country dearly. In the name of coordinating policy and strategy, many countries have accepted major restrictions that have greatly limited their sovereignty on many essential issues, have prevented their independent action in the international arena, and have put them in the position of being unable to freely decide their own destiny. Therefore, the dissolution of the blocs is connected with the present and future freedom and independence of the member countries and the preservation of their national sovereignty and their own voice in international life.

In its international relations, our socialist state has always expressed itself in favor of the maintenance and strengthening of mutually beneficial cooperation with other peoples. At the same time, it has consistently pursued the policy of opposing imperialism, especially American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and their aggressive and war-mongering policy of oppression and exploitation. There will never be any conciliation between socialist Albania and the two superpowers. This stand results from our irreconcilable opposition to their expansionist and hegemonistic policy, from the danger they pose to the freedom and independence of our country and freedom-loving peoples.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been and is for good relations with other states, based on the well-known principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit. This is demonstrated by our steadily expanding relations with many countries in the political field; in the fields of commercial, cultural, and technical-scientific exchanges; and elsewhere.

In our relations with other countries we do not lay down discriminatory or demeaning conditions. We do not seek to impose our way of life or our way of thinking on others. But neither can we allow others to impose theirs on us. This, we think, is a universal principle for equal, sincere, and fruitful relations between free and independent states.

Respect for the internal social order and the international status freely chosen by different states and nations is a matter which brooks no discussion. Peaceful co-existence is the only option for countries with different social systems. Just as revolution cannot be exported, neither can counterrevolution.

Our party and country have always been against every imposition of inequality, discrimination, and diktat on the part of large states in international relations. They are in favor of the total democratization of these relations. States are not equal in territory, population, economic potential, and so forth. But this does not grant special privileges to the great and powerful in international relations or dominant positions above others. Let us start from the principle that all international cooperation between different countries, in whatever field, must lead not to restrictions on independence and sovereignty, but to contributions to economic, social, and cultural development, to the strengthening of mutual friendship, and to the maintenance of peace in the world.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is in favor of the development of trade and economic cooperation with different countries of the world. It considers this not only a means for reciprocal economic benefit, but also a valuable contribution to the normal development of international relations. For this, however, it is necessary that all countries should carry out trade exchanges solely on the basis of mutual benefit and should struggle to ensure that they are not used as a means to impose political concepts and standpoints unacceptable to the other partner.

The free and equal development of international trade is today hampered by antique systems of exchange, which were imposed by the great and rich powers and involve the worst possible plunder of the poor and weak, the monopolization of world markets by large capital, and a whole series of rules and discriminatory practices against small and developing countries. The existence of closed markets, the enforcement of protectionist measures, the erection of tariff and other barriers against certain countries, the manipulation of prices and markets through artificially raising the prices of finished goods, machinery, and so forth, and the speculative lowering of raw material prices have become negative factors preventing the normal, balanced, and equal development of international trade.

Being in favor of the normal, free development of international trade, we are in favor of the removal of these obstacles. We never tie trade to the acceptance of credits, the granting of concessions, or permission for the activities of foreign companies or economic and financial institutions in our country. This has been clearly made law by the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Cultural and technical-scientific exchanges by our country with other countries have grown noticeably and have broadened substantially. There is every possibility of their increasing even more in the future. The Albanian people have always held the progressive culture of other peoples in respect and have never suffered from narrow nationalist prejudices concerning their achievements in the fields of science, literature, and artistic creativity. They have assimilated and put to use all the good and progressive things that have been created and are being created in the world. We are therefore in favor of mutually acceptable cultural exchanges with all the countries with which we have relations. It is our view that these exchanges help us to know each other better, help to strengthen friendship and establish mutual understanding.

The development of relations with neighboring countries forms one of the priorities of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Our country has always been and remains in favor of the constant strengthening and extension of relations with those countries on the basis of the principles of good neighborliness. In its relations with them, our country has been guided by goodwill and by the conviction that mutual exchanges, such as those in the field of trade, transport, culture, technology, and science, should serve to strengthen friendship between peoples, peace, and their common security.

For some time now, tensions in the Balkans have been increasing. Old feuds and jealousies have revived and become exacerbated. They have greatly disturbed the situation in the Balkans and have created further preconditions for the interference and increased influence of the superpowers in this area. The fact is that both the United States of America and the Soviet Union have stepped up pressure on the Balkan countries in order to safeguard their own positions in this peninsula, as well as to gain new concessions to the detriment of the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of the peoples.

We have declared and we maintain the view that the Balkans ought to belong to the people of the Balkans. The idea that the only guarantee of the defense of the country

lies in foreign protection has been mistaken and has had grave consequences. Participation in military blocs and the presence of bases and facilities granted to the military forces of the superpowers increase dependence on the policy and military interests of the imperialist states and add to the threat to security and peace in this region.

Socialist Albania has not accepted and will not accept any action which divides and sows enmity among the peoples of the Balkans, or which violates and limits their freedom. It wants the peoples of the Balkans to be free from the tutelage and diktat of foreigners so that they can advance on the road of their national, democratic, and social emancipation.

History has mixed the peoples of the Balkans a great deal, perhaps more than anywhere else in the world. Ethnic minorities of each people are found within the state frontiers of other states. There has been and still is great sensitivity as to how they are treated. Good or bad relations between the states of our peninsula have been largely dependent on this treatment. The great powers have played upon these feelings in order to stir up quarrels and to set one people against another, in order to meddle in their domestic affairs and influence their foreign affairs.

The situation in the Balkans would be greatly improved if the minorities were regarded not as a source of feuds and divisions, but as a bridge for unity and friendship between the peoples of this peninsula. Recognition and respect for their identity, respect for their language, culture, national traditions, and their spiritual links with their own nation would create precisely that atmosphere of friendship and sincere collaboration, the strengthening of their freedom and independence, peace, and their common security.

Our party and state think that the grave problems which the present international situation presents make essential a realistic view of Balkan problems, abandoning old prejudices, mentalities belonging to bygone eras, and vestiges of former feuds and animosities. If the political will and sincere desire for cooperation exist, if the duties that come from being neighbors and the very important common interests which stem from this are properly appreciated, ways will be found which will lead to overcoming present difficulties and tensions and to the creation of the spirit of mutual trust, the strengthening of understanding, and the establishment of the truly good neighborly relations which are so necessary.

Our socialist state has not merely declared that it is in favor of the policy of good neighborliness, but has also undertaken definite steps to apply it in practice. The assurance which Albania has given neighboring countries that no danger will ever come to them from its territory is clear evidence of this. We have made and will continue to make efforts to develop fruitful collaboration in various fields, such as those of trade, transport, culture, technology, science, and so forth. We think that the expansion and extension of this cooperation to other fields where there is also common interest serve to strengthen the friendship between peoples and to bring them closer together, helping to develop understanding between individuals and to strengthen the peace and security of our region.

The traditional friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek people has been enriched with further positive developments through bilateral efforts. These two indigenous peoples, the most ancient of the Balkans, have been brought together and into friendship by sharing the same historical destiny. Their common struggles in defense of their freedom, independence, culture, and identity against foreign invasions and their liberation war against the German and Italian fascists, have created strong bonds of friendship which have stood the test of all times and situations. Here, too, lies the source of that respect which the Albanian people have always held for

the Greek people and the interest and sincere joy over each victory of our neighbors on the road of freedom, democracy, and progress.

We note with satisfaction that the Greek people and their leaders, too, nourish the same feelings of friendship and respect for our people and for their efforts to strengthen their freedom and independent development.

The normalization of Albanian-Greek relations has been achieved through their joint contribution, and the efforts which are being made to overcome those difficulties which still remain have created conditions for these relations to become a good example and a lasting factor for peace, security, and progress in the Balkans.

We have considered the develoment of normal relations between Albania and Italy as an important factor serving not only good neighborliness between the two countries, but also peace and security in our region and beyond. These have been our starting points in the development of trade in cultural and technical-scientific exchanges, in communications, tourism, and other fields where there has been common interest. Our aim and desire has been and remains that these relations should advance in the future.

The Albanian people, as Comrade Enver Hoxha also stressed, have never confused, and do not confuse, the Italian people with fascism. We have always wanted our two peoples to be friends and wanted as many ties as possible between Albania and Italy, while entirely respecting the principles of sovereignty and equality. This corresponds to the interests of both countries. And so every activity that in one way or another could arouse doubts and mistrust or retard and damage the normal development of relations must be put to one side.

Friendly relations between Albania and Turkey have been strengthened steadily. Our differing political systems have not become obstacles to the harmonious development of relations. The Albanian and Turkish peoples have great respect and nourish pure feelings of kindly sympathy for each other. Our numerous compatriots who have gone to Turkey in all periods have found a friendly environment and have found help and support to live and work in conditions of equality, while developing their talents and making an unhampered contribution to the development and progress of Turkey. The Albanian people appreciate the moral support which progressive Turks, headed by Mustafa Kemal, gave the first, newly created Albanian state, just as we appreciate the sympathy of the Turkish people for the progress and development of our country today. The traditional bonds which exist between the two peoples, their ancient friendship and mutual respect, form a sound basis for the further development of Albanian-Turkish relations, for adding to their content, and for raising our manifold contacts and exchanges to a higher level.

We would like to have normal friendly relations with Yugoslavia, too. The attitude of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania toward Yugoslavia has been principled and consistent. It has striven for normal relations of friendship and good-neighborliness with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, because this would serve both the interests of the two peoples and stability and security in the Balkans. If present Albanian-Yugoslav relations are not as they should be, Albania is not to blame. The desire and will of one side alone is not sufficient to build good-neighborliness. Yugoslav policy toward Albania continues to remain fossilized. Apparently, old nationalist passions and ideologies in Belgrade prevent them from understanding that historical realities cannot be altered and that respect for the freedom, independence, sovereignty, and national identity of each people, as well as noninterference in their internal affairs and paths of development, constitute the sole basis for truly peaceful coexistence and the sole condition for good-neighborliness.

We have not interfered, and do not interfere, in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. We do not meddle in its political, economic, national problems, or any other problems that it might have. These are the problems of Yugoslavia, and it is up to its people to solve them. Likewise, we have never presented territorial claims or any similar claim to Yugoslavia.

It is well-known that there are fundamental ideological differences between Albania and Yugoslavia. We have criticized and opposed Yugoslav self-management, which is proclaimed and publicized as a universal theory and an ideal practice of socialism. The Yugoslavs do not like our social system and oppose it, indeed with great heat. We say to them openly: We are for peaceful coexistence, but not for ideological coexistence. As communists, we are opposed to the bourgeois capitalist system. But this, we think, should not become an obstacle to normal state relations. And, in fact, we have normal relations with 104 different countries and conduct trade with them, as well as cultural, sports, artistic, and other exchanges, irrespective of the fact that there are fundamental differences between us in the ideological field. Like Albania, Yugoslavia has ideological differences, indeed very sharp differences, with many countries, but its state relations with them are normal.

Hence, the fundamental cause of the continuous tensions in Albanian-Yugoslav relations does not lie in any anti-Yugoslav predisposition of Albania or in the ideological differences that exist between the two countries. The attitudes and actions of Belgrade toward our country and toward the Albanians in Yugoslavia, both in the past and today, have been determined by the existence of an anti-Albanian constant in Yugoslav policy, by a refusal to recognize the Albanian nation, and by a refusal to accept the existence of its independent state. The Yugoslav rulers have been guided by a sort of feudal mentality that they ought to impose their diktat and tutelage over Albania. They are still suffering from nostalgia for Koci Xoxe.

Those already stale appeals which are made by Belgrade to give up Enver Hoxha, to abandon the road of Enver Hoxha, are expressions of this policy. It is not difficult to understand this preoccupation of theirs. The road of Enver Hoxha is not the road that leads to Belgrade. It is the road of the freedom and full independence for our fatherland, of untramelled national sovereignty and the socialist development of the country; it is the road which put an end, once and for all, to the interference of foreigners in Albania and to their hopes and dreams of subjugating and ruling the Albanian people.

It is demagogy and a poor disguise to claim that you are supposedly fighting for good-neighborliness and peace in the Balkans and to launch slogans about Balkan cooperation and so forth while, in the meantime, trying, as do the Serbian academicians, to falsify history in order to prove that the Albanians are not indigenous to this peninsula but are immigrants from some unknown place -- in other words, that they are not on their own lands or in their own home. Whom does this platform serve? What prospects does it offer?

We adhere to what we have continually said and demonstrated with concrete proofs, that if they begin to think differently in Yugoslavia about Albania and the Albanians, if they want to live in friendship and peace with them, they will find in us partners ready to collaborate and advance in all those directions which serve the freedom and independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of our countries and good-neighborliness and friendship between the peoples.

More than 2 million Albanians live in Yugoslavia on lands that have been theirs for centuries, just as other peoples and nations live there. Various historical circumstances have united them in one state which ought to belong to all, equally for everybody. At present, because of the economic, national, and social policies that

have been pursued, a grave situation has been created in Kosovo and other territories inhabited by Albanians. Kosovo has been gradually deprived of its autonomy; education in the mother tongue has been restricted; and its original culture and historical traditions are under threat. The Albanians are being systematically stripped of their national and democratic rights, which they won through their national liberation war and which have been sanctioned in the Constitution and other fundamental laws of the Yugoslav federation. Thousands and thousands of young Albanian men and women have been arrested, tortured, and imprisoned on absurd pretexts. The discrimination and denigration of the Albanians, which has taken on the shape of a real inquisition, has assumed unprecedented proportions.

As Albanians and communists, we can never reconcile ourselves to this state of affairs. Neither, we believe, can realistic and progressive people in Yugoslavia -- all those who have fought sincerely and shed their blood because they believed in the unity and fraternity of its peoples -- reconcile themselves to this. The peoples of Europe, for whom human, national, and democratic rights, freedom, and equality have been the inspiring and creative ideal of their civilization, will not reconcile themselves to it either. Nor will the peoples of the world for whom the struggle against national, racial, colonial, and other oppression represents that great motive force that carries human society forward reconcile themselves to it.

We have condemned and continue to condemn the injustices which are being meted out to the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Defense of and concern for minorities is an undeniable right. These things are provided for in international laws and practices, and even in the UN charter.

The attempts which are being made to find the culprits for the existing situation in Kosovo outside Yugoslavia are expressions of the lack of the realism to look things in the eye, of the lack of the political will to solve these problems with objectivity and a cool head. Likewise, the use of force and compulsion does not correct the situation.

We do not want the situation in Kosovo to grow worse. In no instance and in no way have we sought or do we seek to destabilize Yugoslavia. It is not in the interest of the peoples of the Balkans, nor in our interest, that it should be turned into an arena of quarrels and dissent, a situation which could facilitate the interference of foreign powers.

We have said, and we repeat, that domestic factors, economic and political factors, the mistakes of the past and those being committed today in the solution of national problems, and so forth are endangering the stability of Yugoslavia. It has always been our desire that Kosovo and other regions inhabited by Albanians should serve as bridges of friendship, affinity, and cooperation between our two countries, not by denying them their democratic and national rights, but by respecting and developing them according to the Yugoslav Constitution and to the same extent as these things are recognized for other peoples in the federation.

This is our starting point when we claim that the solution of the problems which have been accumulating in Kosovo, the interests of all the peoples of Yugoslavia -- Serbs, Albanians, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Croats, Slovenes, and others -- the stability and future of Yugoslavia require a wise, realistic, and objective stand. They require that the rights for Kosovo and other Albanian regions recognized by the Constitution and other fundamental laws of Yugoslavia be defended and respected and that their lawful demands be solved on the basis of these laws, in a spirit of equality, understanding, and justice.

With the overwhelming majority of Mediterranean states, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania maintains friendly relations, among which those with the Arab states occupy a special place. Between the Albanian people and the fraternal Arab peoples there are close historical ties which stem from the past and their struggles for freedom and national independence. Our peoples have always stood beside one another.

Between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the People's Democratic Algerian Republic friendly relations and close cooperation have been established for many years. Recently this cooperation has intensified appreciably, and we are confident that it will develop even further to the benefit of our two friendly countries and peoples.

Likewise, Albania's relations with Egypt, Libya, Syria, and other Arab states are developing on a friendly course. Possibilities exist to carry these relations still further forward in various fields of reciprocal interest.

The Albanian people and the AWP have given and will continue to give constant support to the just struggle of the martyred Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization to regain their homeland, their territory, and their own national state. There can be no real solution of the problems of the Middle East without a solution of the Palestinian problem. Similarly, our people will support the other fraternal Arab peoples in driving the Israeli aggressors from the occupied territories and defending their freedom and national sovereignty.

The deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and the spread of conflicts in that area have led to a further worsening of the situation in the Mediterranean too. This great area of ancient civilizations, which links and unites three continents and has dozens of peoples, has been turned by the superpowers and their blocs into a great arena of imperialist rivalry, into a sea packed with warships which threaten the countries on its shores with their guns, missiles, and marines.

The American military operations against Libya demonstrated that the situation in the Mediterranean has become ominous and is fraught with great dangers for all the Mediterranean countries. The fact is that the American adventure against Libya implicated a number of European and other countries which border on the Mediterranean.

In the light of these new developments, opposition to the military presence, bases, and fleets of the superpowers in the Mediterranean has become even more urgent and indispensable. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania long ago declared that their removal forms the first decisive condition for turning the Mediterranean into a sea of peace, communication, and civilization. Neither the United States of America nor the Soviet Union should be allowed to kindle the flames of war in the Mediterranean and threaten the peaceful existence, independence, and national sovereignty of countries on the shores of this basin.

Since Albania is a European country, our party and people are particularly interested in everything that occurs on our continent. The situation in Europe continues to be charged with new tensions. American-Soviet confrontation on this continent has led to the strengthening of military blocs and to the inclusion of different states in the arms race. After the deployment of the American Pershing II and cruise missile systems and the Soviet SS-20 missiles, the political, economic, and military pressures of Washington and Moscow have been stepped up. The so-called European security, the programs of collective defense, the proposals for the revival of detente and inter-European cooperation have not reduced tensions in Europe. Time has proved, and is proving more convincingly each day, that peace and security in Europe, free and independent development, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its countries are not guaranteed either by the political-military blocs that the superpowers maintain, by their military bases and atomic weapons, or by the conferences they organize and manipulate supposedly in the name of European security. The true road to European security is the liberation of the European peoples from the superpowers' political,

military, and economic blocs -- from their supervision and tutelage -- and is the pursuit of an independent policy in all fields and the exercise of unrestricted national sovereignty on all questions.

The Albanian people understand the freedom-loving, democratic, and peace-loving aspirations of the European peoples and support their efforts to realize their aspirations. Guided by the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, reciprocal respect, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty, our country maintains normal relations with most European countries and is trying to develop them in favor of the common interests.

With France, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, and the other Nordic countries our relations are developing in positive directions. We believe that with joint efforts, ways can be found to carry our concrete collaboration further.

With Romania, Bulgaria, the GDR, and other states of Eastern Europe, as well as with the PRC, our trade exchanges have recorded a gradual rise. We are in favor of the normal development of state relations on the basis of mutual benefit.

Recently diplomatic relations were established between our country and Spain. It is our desire that this act will open the way to fruitful and friendly development for our two Mediterranean countries, that their long-standing ties will be revived and strengthened.

We have had talks with the FRG about the normalization of relations between our two countries and we believe that with goodwill and joint efforts this objective can be achieved. With Britain, too, we are not opposed to the normalization of relations, but this requires that it face up realistically to the return of the Albanian gold held unjustly in London since the end of World War II.

Relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the SRV have been developed and strengthened on the basis of friendly links that have existed between our peoples for a long time. Likewise, our relations with the DPRK, Laos, and Cambodia and a number of other Asian countries are developing on friendly lines.

Since the eighth congress of the party, Albania's relations with the countries of the African continent have been increasingly extended and strengthened. There is every possibility that existing friendly cooperation with Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Burkino Faso, Mali, and so forth will be further strengthened to the benefit of the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, and racism, and that further progress will be made toward reinforcing these relations to mutual advantage.

The AWP and the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have given and are continuing to give resolute support to the just struggle of the African peoples for national liberation and for the defense and strengthening of their freedom and national independence, as well as to their struggle against racial discrimination and apartheid and against the interference of imperialist and neocolonialist powers.

With Cuba, Mexico, Argentina, Nicaragua, Brazil, and other states of the Latin American continent our relations have developed along friendly lines and on a basis of mutual respect. Our socialist state is in favor of the continuous development of relations with the countries of Latin America.

The Albanian people and the AWP are in full solidarity with the struggle being waged by the people of Latin America for the development of democracy and the reestablishment of their civil liberties and rights, against the ruthless plunder of imperialism and the enslaving system of debts, and for the strengthening of their sovereignty of their independent development.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will consistently pursue the principled foreign policy which has ensured all these victories. It bases its freedom and independence neither on alliances nor on foreign tutelage, but on its own potential, on its uninterrupted independent political and economic development, on the determination and patriotism of its own people, on the lofty moral and political unity of the people around the party, and upon a strong and impregnable people's defense.

Our foreign policy, based firmly upon our people and enjoying their unanimous support, will always remain unswervingly in the service of the lofty interests of the socialist fatherland and will militate as always in an internationalist spirit to make its contribution to the triumph of the cause of the liberation of the people and to peace and security in the world.

Comrade delegates, the Central Committee presented to you the important objectives that we must achieve in the next 5 years and the numerous tasks we must accomplish. A great deal of work awaits us. Our party has always set itself great tasks and our people have always aimed at lofty objectives. The giant strides that our fatherland has taken in its socialist construction, the colossal transformations that have taken place, have been made through struggle and have been brought about through a great deal of self-sacrificing labor, with unrivalled mobilization and a powerful revolutionary spirit. Through struggle and labor we shall forge ahead in the future too. Through struggle and labor we shall strengthen and make bounteous our socialist life.

We do not expect anybody to help us achieve the plans we have drafted. We have done and will do everything through our own resources. Through our own toil and sweat we shall push forward the industrialization of the country and the modernization of agriculture and raise the cultural level of the masses and the prosperity of the people. The guarantee for this is the inexhaustible strength of the people, with their talents and knowledge, their courage and bravery to cope with every situation and overcome any difficulty. The guarantee is the wise leadership of the historic party.

So, comrades, let us labor with redoubled energies, with mobilization and enthusiasm, to accomplish and exceed the new 5-year plan which sets forth the rates and levels for the growth, strengthening, and progress of our socialist fatherland. Let us continue to unite our energies to strengthen even further the unity of steel of the people around the party, to make the defense of the country even more powerful and the leading role of the party even more effective. Let us master Marxist-Leninist science and the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and apply them resolutely to make even more sturdy those foundations that guarantee our socialist victories and our sure future.

Onward, comrades, with the banner of the party to the fore, toward new victories on the brilliant road of our revolution, freedom, and socialism!

Long live the ninth party congress!
Long live our heroic and hard-working people!
Long live our victorious party!
Glory to the life and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

The report of Comrade Ramiz Alia was listened to with great attention and particular interest. He was often interrupted by applause, cheers, and enthusiastic ovations from all the delegates for the AWP, for the party-people unity of steel, for the victories of our party and people in the socialist construction of the country, and for our secure present-day life and brilliant future.

The hall frequently resounded with cries of "Party of Labor, Party of Labor," "Glory to the immortal name and work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!" Long live the party Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head!" "Glory to Marxism-Leninism!" "Long live proletarian internationalism!" and "Marxism-Leninism, Marxism-Leninism!"